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MANUAL

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHURCH,

BY

H. E. F. GUERICKE, PHIL. ET THEOL. DR.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT HALLE.

TRANSLATED AND ADAPTED TO THE USE OF

THE ENGLISH CHURCH,

BY

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In una fide nihil officit sanctæ
Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON,
WEST STRAND.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A FEW words are necessary to explain the extent of the adaptation to which the original has been subjected. Guericke, as a Lutheran, maintains the original equality of the Presbyterate and Episcopate, and ascribes to the existing episcopate an origin, though only not coeval with, yet still posterior to the Apostles' times. The English Church in the Preface to her Ordinal asserts, that "it is evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' times there have been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." As an office-bearer in that Church, the translator could not gainsay, nor give currency to any gainsaying of, the Church's teaching. In the sections, therefore, which bear upon the Episcopate alterations and omissions have been made. The alterations are marked

by brackets []; the omissions are preserved in an Appendix. For whatever, therefore, is contained in brackets, the Translator, and not the original Author, is answerable.

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ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

Sect. I.—IDEA AND LIMITS OF CHURCH ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE Christian Church has an internal and an external aspect. The first is presented in its doctrines, the second in its forms. The general history of the Church, therefore, ought to exhibit both its forms and its doctrines. And inasmuch as each of these subjects is important enough to claim for itself a separate investigation, several independent branches of Church History have been constituted out of them. Thus the doctrines of the Church may be set forth either in a history of dogmas or in a collection of creeds (*Symbolik*, Sylloge Confessionum). For while the first seeks to trace the gradual development of the several doctrines from their first germ to their fullest expansion, the second contents itself with exhibiting them only so far as, being fully developed, they have become fixed in the public confessions of those different branches of the Church, whose existence first became historically defined by the publication of such rules of faith.

On the other hand, that exposition of the form or forms of the Church—(the outward manifestation of the Church's life and of Christian churchmanship, both in its institutions and its laws)—which exhibits them in their rise and progress, constitutes that branch of Ecclesiastical History which has been denominated *Archæology*.

The most important topic in this branch of inquiry is,

without doubt, the earliest ages of the Church—the constituent æra of ecclesiastical antiquity. And this consists of the first six Centuries. For it was in this period that the edifice of the Church was not only founded, but also built up, as well in regard to its worship and corporate capacity as to its doctrine. Consequently, the very name of Archæology carries the mind back preeminently to these ancient times. And yet, even if we take Archæology in its narrowest sense, it would be a procedure no less unscientific than illegitimate, were we to confine ourselves exclusively to the forms of the ancient Church. For it must not be forgotten, that for the ceremonies of the Church as much as for the Church itself, and for its teaching and its dogmas especially, there has been not only a period of corruption (the middle ages), but also a renovating and reforming epoch, with its various confessional manifestations. To limit therefore the domain of Church Archæology entirely to ancient times, is a decided and obvious misconception of its true nature, although indeed this course has hitherto been followed by all, and especially by Protestant writers on this subject. And this fact is a strong proof that a clear conception of the whole extent of this branch of inquiry has still to be *formed*, or that at most we are only just entering on the road towards its attainment.

Now while the idea and the extent of Archæology was thus confined to the earliest times, science, conscious of its rights, naturally refused to recognize these limits. On the contrary, it has endeavoured to pass beyond them—or at least to pave the way for their enlargement. Scientifically, therefore, we can do no more than define our inquiry as that branch of historical speculation which sets forth the forms of the Church exclusively in an historical point of view. In the execution of our task, however, we shall be obliged with others to adhere to that which the very name of Archæology suggests as its basis, and we must confess that for archæological purposes the earliest ages of Christianity are by far the most important. Practically therefore, Archæology, in that narrow sense of the term, as an exposition of the forms of the ancient Church, will furnish the proper subject-matter of our pages; nevertheless protesting against this, as the popular and not the correct

notion of our science, we shall endeavour to procure for it its due completeness, or at least to indicate the necessity of attaining to it.

This being the state of the case with regard to the idea of Archæology, the question as regards its limits becomes of less consequence. In a scientific point of view, the domain of Archæology is commensurate with and as little limited as that of the history of the Church's doctrines. Nothing but the factitious limitation of it to ancient times could have given rise to a question as to its boundaries. In the narrower and more exclusive signification, as well as in every other, its commencement is that point of time when the first traces of a peculiar development of forms shew themselves in the Christian Church. Its close, however, has been variously fixed. While Walch and many besides would stop with the times of Constantine or the beginning of the fourth Century, and while other writers would with Augusti proceed as far as the middle ages (Gregory VII. and the twelfth Century), a third school, that of Baumgarten, &c. would bring down their labours to so late a period as even the fifteenth Century. The most consistent course, however, is, to follow the precedent set by most of the older writers (Quenstedt, Bingham, &c.), and by the majority of modern ones (Rheinwald, Böhmer, &c.), and to close the exposition of Archæology in this sense with the popedom of Gregory the Great and the sixth Century. For, as we have already remarked, this period contains that basis of the whole development of the Church to which whatever was of later origin attached itself as a mere accident of it; and, moreover, these first six Centuries form in any case the most important period by far of all that our inquiry, taken even in its most extensive range, can be expected to comprise.

The word Archæology, ἀρχαιολογία, originally indicated among the Greeks ancient history—both of facts and institutions. Cf. Plato, *Hippias Maj.* p. 14 ed. Bip. It is in this sense that it is employed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and also by Josephus, for the title of their partly historical and partly statistical works.

It signifies the matter of ancient history, both in its incipient and also in its finished and abiding development—both in its movement and in its rest. The corresponding Latin term is *antiquitates*. Cf. Cicero, *Academ.* pt. I. 2, and Augustin, *de civit. Dei*, VI. 3. It was only gradually that the signification both of the Greek and of the Latin term was limited to that narrow sense by which it is distinguished from ancient history; and being confined to the exposition of permanent forms and facts, ceased to desig-

nate movement or progress. Cf. F. A. Wolf, *Ueber Darstellung d. Alterthumswissenchaft nach Begriff, Umfang Zweck u. Werth*, in Wolff and Buttmann's *Museum d. Alterthumswissenchaft*. Berl. 1807. Bd. 1. s. 10, &c. Perhaps instead of either *archæologia* or *antiquitates*, the most appropriate term for scientific Christian Archæology, in its true scientific extent, would be *Ecclesiæ Christianæ politia*, πολιτεία, or some similar phrase.

Sect. II.—SUBJECT-MATTER. DIVISION AND OBJECTS OF CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

Church-forms are of two kinds. They relate either to the state of the Church as a society, or to its worship, and to whatever is connected therewith. In both respects Archæology ought genetically to follow the course of the historical development itself. Moreover, while it steadily pursues this method, it is bound critically to observe throughout the characteristic features of the several periods of Christianity[1], and of the different national Churches, even though it is not absolutely necessary to appropriate distinct sections to their separate consideration. With regard, therefore, to its subject-matter, the exposition of archæology will admit of being regulated by this twofold primary relation. And again as to method, our work may divide itself into an archæology of the Church as a society, and an archæology of its worship, and (as connected therewith) of the customs of the Church[2]. This division is far simpler and much more appropriate than the older and more common one which arranges the subject-matter of inquiry under certain arbitrary heads and divisions[3].

Moreover, although the forms of the Church, and pre-

[1] The primitive times in the New Testament, the period of the earliest shaping of the Church in the first three centuries, the age of the powerful external influence of Constantine, and then again of that which is marked on the one hand by the great migration of nations, and internally on the other, by fixing the dogmas of the church in symbols or creeds, &c.

[2] An *archæology of Christian art* is not necessarily unconnected with the archæology of worship; however, it so justly claims for itself an independent domain of inquiry, that it is impossible to regard the history of Christian art in the mere light of a part of archæology.

[3] Thus Baumgarten, following the precedents of the ancient Jewish antiquarians, treats, 1, De hominibus sacris; 2, de temporibus sacris; 3, de locis et vasis sacris; 4, de actionibus sacris; 5, de disciplina sacra; and 6, de libris, vestibus, rebusque sacris; while *Au-*

eminently of the primitive Church, are the proper object of our investigations, still this does not by any means exclude all notice of the internal elements of the Church. On the contrary, the form of the Church is a result primarily of its doctrine. Its external phase in constitution and worship is for the most part the necessary fruit and effect of the inner principle of creed and doctrine. It seems consequently to be the problem of archæology distinctly and attractively to exhibit the external in its true connexion with the internal. No doubt, according to the positions thus advanced, a complete archæology of the Church would have much matter in common with certain branches of Ecclesiastical History; it is, however, the special purpose of the former to gather together those notices of forms and rites which are scattered throughout the latter, to combine them together into an organic whole, and to work up the mere sketchy outlines into a distinct and finished picture.

Sect. III.—SOURCES OF CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

The sources of Christian Archæology are threefold. They are public monuments, or original archives, or private writings.

1 Among public monuments as archæological sources we must place church-buildings, sepulchral monuments, inscriptions, coins, statuary, and other works of sculpture, intended for church purposes.

On Church-buildings consult J. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta Romana.* 3 Vols. fol. Rom. 1747, and Knapp and Gutensohn, *Denkmale der christlichen Religion, oder Sammlung der ältesten christlichen Basiliken Roms, vom 4ten bis 13ten Jahrh.* Stuttg. seit 1822 in fol.; also J. Kreuser, *Kölner Dombriefe oder Beiträge zur altchristlichen Kirchenbaukunst.* Berl. 1844; and H. Otte, *Abriss einer kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie des Mittelalters, mit ausschliesslicher Berücksichtigung der deutschen Lande.* Nordhaus. 2 A. 1845. [Hope's *History of Architecture.*]

gusti treats, 1, Of Christian worship generally, and of holy persons; 2, of holy places; 3, of holy times; 4, of holy actions; 5, of holy things; 6, of Christian art; and so on.

On Sepulchral Monuments especially, see P. Aringhi, *Roma subterranea.* Rom. 1651. fol., and Par. 1659. 2 Vols.; and M. A. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri de' santi Martiri ed antichi Christiani di Roma.* Rom. 1720. fol. [Maitland, *The Church of the Catacombs.*]

On Inscriptions, L. A. Muratori, *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum.* 4 Vols. fol. Mediol. 1739 sqq.; and as a supplement thereto, Seb. Donati, *Thesaurus novissimus veterum inscriptionum gr. et lat.* Lucc. 1765. 75. 2 Vols.

On Coins, Jos. Ekhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum.* Vindob. 1798. 4, particularly Bd. VIII.

Lastly, on Statues and other works of Statuary intended for the decoration of Churches, J. P. Bellori, *Lucernæ veteres sepulcrales iconicæ e cavernis Romæ subterraneis, collectæ a P. S. Bartolo.* Col. 1702; (Bottari) *Sculture e pitture sagre, estratte dei cimiteri di Roma cet.* Rom. 1737. 46. 3 Vols. fol.; J. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens, depuis sa decadence au IV. siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVI.* 6 Vols. Par. 1823. fol. (especially Part IV.V.); F. Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Altona, 1825. 2 Hfte 4; Helmsdorfer, *Christliche Kunstsymbolik und Iconographie.* Frkf. a. M. 1839. 8; Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne. Histoire de Dieu.* Par. 1843. 4[1]; and H. Alt, *Die Heiligenbilder oder die bildende Kunst und die theol. Wissenschaft.* Berl. 1845.

2 Archives, as sources of Archæology, are either entirely ecclesiastical, or else secular ones having reference to the Church.

To purely ecclesiastical archives belong (after the New Testament, on which see No. 3) the Acts and Regulations of general Councils, and Provincial Synods (of which the best edition is that of J. D. Mansi. Flor. et Ven. 1759. sqq. 31 Vols. fol.[2]); the Decretals of the Roman Bishops[3] (the first collection of these was made by Dionysius Exiguus at

[1] Compared with C. Schmidt, *Anzeige des Didron'schen Buchs in den Theologischen Studien und Kritiken.* 1845. s. 769 ff.

[2] Of earlier collections, the principal are: that of *Paris, au Louvre,* 1644 ff. 37 Tom.; that of Labbe et G. Cossart. Par. 1672 ff. 17 Tom. fol. with a supplemental volume by Steph. Baluze. Par. 1683, again 1707; that of J. Harduin. Par. 1715 ff. 12 Tom. fol.

the beginning of the sixth Century, in the second part of his collection of Church-laws[1]); the *canonicæ s. patrum (græcorum) epistolæ*[2]; and the Liturgies of the Ancient Church. On these, see J. A. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ*. Rom. 1749—66. 13 Vols. 4. On the Liturgies of the eastern Church especially, E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*. Par. 1715. 2 Vols. 4, and Jac. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *s. Rituale Græcorum*. Venet. 1730. fol.; on those of the Roman Church, L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus* (*tria sacramentaria complect. Leonianum, Gelasianum et Gregorianum*), with an Appendix relating to the Gothic, Frankish, and Gallican Liturgies. Venet. 1748. 2 Vols. fol.; on the Gallican, cf. J. Mabillon, *De liturgia Gallicana*. Par. 1729. 4; on the Mœsarabic or Hispano-Gothic Liturgy, see J. Pinius, *Liturgia antiqua hispana, gothica, mozarabica, Isidoriana, Toletana, mixta cet.* Rom. 1749. 2 Vols. fol. [A very useful compendium is Daniell, *Codex Liturgicus in Epitomen reductus*, Fascic. i. ii. Leipz. See also Brett, *Collection of Liturgies*.] See below, § 32, 4.

Among secular archives a special place is held by the edicts of the Roman emperors, *e.g.* the *Codex Theodosianus*[3], collected 438, edited *cum comm. J. Gothofredi*, by J. D. Ritter. Lips. 1736. 6 Vols. fol.; as also by Hugo. Berol. 1815. 2 Vols. 8; and again, the first five books with

(with excellent Indices); and that of Nic. Coletus. Venet. 1728. 23 Vols. fol. and six supplemental volumes by J. D. Mansi. Lucc. 1748-51.—A very valuable abridgement is that of G. D. Fuchs, *Bibliothek der Kirchenversammlungen des 4, u. 5. Jahrh.* (with a capital introduction) Lpz. 1780. 4 Thle. 8. A still simpler summary of the regulations of the Councils from the 4th to the 7th century has lately appeared in H. T. Bruns' *Canones App. et Concill.* secc. IV.—VII. 2 Vols. Berol. 1839. 8. [See also Landon's *Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church*. London, 1846.]

[1] Of a Siricius (385), Innocentius I., Zosimus, Bonifacius, Celestin, Leo I., Gelasius, u. s. w.

[2] Cf. Fratr. Ballerini, *De antiquis collectionibus canonum*, P. III. c. 1, sqq. (T. III. *of Opera Leonis M.*)—The following are later collections of the letters of the bishops of Rome: *Bullarium Romanum*. Luxemb. 1727. 19 Vol. fol.; C. Coquelines, *Ampliss. collectio bullarum cet. pontiff. Rom.* Rom. 1739. 18 Vol. fol., and C. A. Spetia, *Bullarii Romani Continuatio*. Rom. 1835 ff. fol.

[3] In Bp. Beveridge's Συνοδικὸν *sive pandectæ canonum s. apostolor. et concilior. ab ecclesia Græca receptorum*. Ox. 1672. 2 Vols. fol.

[4] Especially Lib. XVI. de rebus ecclesiasticis.

some newly discovered fragments by C. F. C. H. Wenk. Lips. 1825. 8, and also the revision of Laws which was made in the reign of Justinian, the *Codex Justinianeus vetus* of 529, which is now lost, but of which we have the corrected edition under the title *Codex repetitæ prælectionis*, of 534, and the *Novellæ constitutiones* of the years 535 to 569; the two latter collections being contained in the editions of the *Corpus Juris civilis*.

To these archives, which are partly ecclesiastical and partly secular, must be added other collections which collate and contrast the laws of the Church and of the State. Of this kind are the *Nomocanon* of Photius in the 9th Century (compiled about 883, A.D.), and also the Commentaries and Epitomes drawn up within the 11th and the 14th Centuries—that of Johannes Zonaras (after 1118, A.D.); of Theodorus Balsamon (about 1200); of Arsenius (about the middle of the 13th Century); and of others.

3 Of private writings as sources for Archæology, 1st, those of non-Christians are but of little weight; for it is only isolated passages that can fall under our consideration[1]. But 2dly, those of Christian writers—in the absence of ancient works expressly archæological—are all, nearly without exception, highly valuable, since for the first Centuries[2] indeed they are almost the only sources of Church history in general. More especially to be consulted are the writings of the Church's professed historians (particularly the ancient Greek writers, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others[3]), and after them the biographies of eminent Christian individuals, and preeminently of the Saints

[1] For instance, Plinii epistoll. lib. x. ep. 96, 97; but of all heathen writings, perhaps the most attention is due to the λόγος ἀληθής of Celsus, and the works of Lucian and Julian,—as well those that pass under their names as those that are undoubtedly genuine.

[2] Consequently before all others the New Testament—if indeed it can be reckoned among private writings—while of the whole canon the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St Paul are of most value archæologically. The Apocryphal writings rank next, but naturally require to be used with great caution. Then come the works of the Apostolical fathers, the fragments of Hegesippus, the earliest Apologists, and especially Justin Martyr, the works of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement, and Origen, &c.

[3] As the only expressly archæological work of patristic times—though by no means of a very early date—we may regard the work *De Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita.

and Martyrs: Th. Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum*. ed. 2. Amst. 1713. fol., and Joh. Bollandi, et alior. *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Antv. 1643—1794. 53 Vols. fol.[1] As bearing more or less on our subject we may also mention most of the non-historical writings of the Fathers (those viz. of an homiletic, liturgic, or apologetic character, and such also as relate to discipline, &c.); and lastly, a long series of ecclesiastical writings by mediæval authors, such as Isidore of Seville's *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*[2], in the 7th Century; in the 9th, Walfr. Strabo's *de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum*, and the treatise of Rabanus Maurus *de Institutione Clericorum Ecclesiast.*; in the beginning of the 12th Century, Ivo, *Micrologus de ecclesiast. observationibus*, and especially the *Sermones de ecclesiast. sacramentis et officiis*; and in the 13th, the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Guil. Durandus.

Lastly, for the antiquities of the whole Christian Church, and especially of the Eastern branch of it, we must ascribe special and prominent importance to the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, which have been ascribed to Clemens Romanus as their compiler, and to the *Canones Apostolici*. The former compilation seems to have been gradually formed between the 2nd and the 4th Centuries, whereas the Canones (in the number of which the Greek and Roman branch of

[1] Of subsidiary authorities for the history of the martyrs, the principal are the *Acta Proconsularia*, or *Præsidiaria*, and especially the histories of the martyrs contained therein, which were related in court either by the accused themselves or by some of the Christian bystanders. Whatever of this kind relates to the earliest witnesses for the truth may be found in the work of Ruinart. Besides these, there are numerous collections of histories of the saints and martyrs belonging to the subsequent centuries: 1, of an ancient date, *Eusebius de Martyribus Palæstin.* (partly the relations of eye-witnesses); *Theodoreti Historia Religiosa*, and not a few Martyrologia and Menologia; 2, of mediæval times, *Vincent. Bellovacensis* (obiit 1264) *Speculum Historiale*, *Jacob. de Voragine Legenda aurea* (composed about 1290), *Petr. de Natalibus Catalogus Sanctorum* (1382); 3, lastly, more modern works, *Alo. Lipomanni Vitæ Sanctorum*. Rom. 1551, sqq. 8 Vols., *Laur. Surii Vitæ Sanctorum Orientis et Occidentis*. Col. 1569. 6 Vols., *H. Rosweydi Vitæ Sanctorum*. Antv. 1619. fol.; and the already mentioned most copious *Acta* of Bollandus, Henschenius, Papebroche, [Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*], &c. All these however are not of much value directly for archæology.

[2] With reference hereto, see especially *Origines sive Etymologiarum Codex*.

the Church differ[1]), are first mentioned in the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 394, although their basis is evidently derived from Apostolical times[2].

The archæological sources here adduced, both in themselves and the literature connected with them, refer for the most part exclusively to Archæology in the narrowest and strictest sense of the term. For the later mediæval, as also preeminently for the reforming period, other sources must be added to those mediæval ones already noticed, from among the writers of the middle ages, and of the æra of the Reformation,—a fact which it is enough simply to have indicated.

Sect. IV.—TREATISES ON CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

Formerly Christian antiquities were regarded as a part of general Church History[3], and it is only since the 18th Century that this rich domain of inquiry has been cultivated, both by Protestant and by Roman writers, as a separate and special branch of learning[4]. The earlier works on this subject are on the whole distinguished from later ones by more extensive learning, a completer study of the original sources, and a more enthusiastic handling of the subject, while the modern are chiefly characterised by a calmer sifting of authorities, and a more critical distinction of the several periods of the Church's development.

The most eminent of Protestant works on Ecclesiastical Antiquities as a whole are[5],

J. A. Quenstedt, *Antiquitates biblica et ecclesiastica*. Viteb. 1699. 4, which work, as the very title evidences,

[1] The Greek church numbers 85, the Roman only *50 Apostolici Canones*.

[2] On both collections consult especially O. Krabbe, *Ueber den Ursprung und Inhalt der Apostolischen Constitutionen des Clem. Rom.* Hamb. 1829, and J. S. von Drey, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Canones der Apostel*. Tub. 1832.—The *Canones* have also been lately reprinted by Bruns (see above, page 6, n. 2), T. I. p. 1 sqq.; the best edition of the *Canones* and *Constitutiones*, however, still is, and is long likely to be, that of J. B. Cotelerius, *Patres Apostolici*. Par. 1672. 2 Vol. fol., and J. Clericus. Antv. 1698. u. Amst. 1724.

[3] Thus, for instance, in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*.

[4] This is proved by the many works which will be adduced in Part II.

[5] Not to mention some Dictionaries of Church Antiquities: that *e.g.* of Josua Arndt. Gryph. 1669; J. A. Schmid. Helmst. 1712; J. A. Rechenberg. Lips. 1714; E. Mirus. Bud. 1717, lately edited by Siegel. Leipz. 1835.

contains also the biblical and consequently Old Testament antiquities in particular.

Joseph. Bingham[1] (to this day the first name in the domain of ecclesiastical archæology), *Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church.* Lond. 1708—1722. 10 Vols. 8. u. *ib.* 1726. 2 Vols. fol. translated into Latin by J. H. Grischovius, *cum præf.* J. F. Buddei. Hal. 1722—29. 10 Vols. 4, ed. 2. 1751—61. 11 Vols.[2]

J. C. W. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie, mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Bedürfnisse der Kirche.* Lpz. 1816—31. 12 Bde. 8; a work whose diffuseness and excursiveness[3] is partly remedied in his *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie.* Lpz. 1836. 37. 3 Bde. 8.

F. H. Rheinwald, *Die kirchliche Archäologie.* Berl. 1830. 8.

W. Böhmer, *Die christlich kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft.* Bresl. 1836—39. 2 Bde. 8.

Also (though not as a special work), A. Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, in all those sections which treat of archæological matters compared with his *Denkwürdigkk. aus der Gesch. des Christenthums und des christl. Lebens.*

Among shorter and less pretending manuals written by Protestants we may mention J. Hildebrand, *Sacra publica veteris ecclesiæ in compendium reducta.* Helmst. 1699.[4] J. G. Walch, *Compendium antiquitatum eccles. ex scriptoribus apologeticis eorundemque commentatoribus compos.* Lips. 1733. 8. S. J. Baumgarten, *Primæ lineæ breviarii antiquitat. christ.* Scholia add. J. S. Semler. Hal. 1766. 8. S. J. Baumgarten, *Erläuterung der christlichen Alterthümer, herausgegeben* von J. C. Bertram. Halle, 1768. 8. J. C. W. Augusti, *Die christlichen Alterthümer; ein Lehr-*

[1] Born 1668, died 1728.

[2] The 11th vol. contains dissertations by the translator, which were published separately 1738, and 1781. A German abridgment of the English edition of Bingham appeared at Augsburg in 4 vols. 8vo. It is also as a summary of Bingham's work that we must regard the *Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Notitia*, or 'A Summary of Christian Antiquities,' by A. Blackmore. Lond. 1722. 2 Vols. 8; deutsch. von F. E. Rambach. Bresl. 1788-96. 2 Bde. 8.

[3] Its principal object was a practical one.

[4] Written at the instigation of Calixtius.

buch fur akademische Vorlesungen. Lpz. 1819. 8. [*A Manual of Christian Antiquities*, by Rev. J. E. Riddle.]

Of those written by members of the Roman Church the principal are[1], Th. M. Mamachii, *Originum et antiquitt. christianarum libri XX*. Rom. 1749—55. 5 Vols. 4, unfinished, four books only having appeared[2].

A. A. Pellicia, *De christ. ecclesiæ primæ, mediæ et novissimæ ætatis politia libri IV*. Neap. 1777. 3 Vols. 8; with notes by Renzi. Vercell. 1778; new edition by J. J. Ritter. Col. 1829. gr. 8, to which Appendices, published in Vol. II., were added by J. W. J. Braun, in 1838.

This is the first and almost only work that has embraced the whole of Archæology in its full scientific extent, not confining it, as hitherto done, to the ancient Church alone. It takes, however, an exclusively Roman view of things.

A recast of this work (for it is scarcely more) is, A. Binterim, *Die vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der christkatholischen Kirche aus den ersten, mittleren und letzten Zeiten, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Disciplin der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland*. Mainz, 1825—30. 6 Thle. in 12 Bden.

The following Roman Catholic works have in view not so much an historical as a practical (ascetical) object, and besides, they do not embrace the whole domain of Archæology. M. A. Nickel, *Die heiligen Zeiten und Feste nach ihrer Geschichte und Feier in der katholischen Kirche*. Mainz, 1825—38. 3 Thle. in 6 Bden., and F. A. Staudenmaier, *Der Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, heiligen Handlungen und in der heiligen Kunst*. Mainz, 2 Aufl. 1838. 2 Thle.

Next to these works, which are occupied with, or at least were designed to treat of, the whole subject of Archæology, certain special works devoted to some of its

[1] According to Cassalius, *De Profanis et Sacris Veterib. Ritib. opus tripartitum*, Francf. a. M. 1681. 4. (originally published separately, Rom. 1644, sq.); G. Albaspinæus, *De Veteribus Eccl. Ritibus Obss.* (ed. Meyer) Helmst. 1672; J. Bona, Lib. II. *Rer. Liturgicar.* Rom. 1676; and D. and C. Macri, *Hierolexicon*. Rom. 1677. fol., Ven. 1712. 4.

[2] Of far more value than Selvaggius, *Antiquitatum Christ. Institutiones*. Neap. 1772-74. 6 Vols.

more considerable branches, are deserving of attention. Thus with respect to the social and corporate state of the Church, the following are of value:

L. Thomassini, *Vetus et nova ecclesiæ disciplina circa beneficia et beneficiarios.* Lugd. 1706. and Lucc. 1728. 3 Vols. fol.; J. H. Böhmer, *Dissertt. juris ecclesiastici antiqui ad Plinium secundum et Tertullianum.* Lips. 1748. 8, and also by the same author, *Entwurf des Kirchenstaats der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.* Halle, 1733. 8; W. E. L. Ziegler, *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der kirchlichen Verfassungsformen in den ersten 6 Jahrhh. der Kirche.* Lpz. 1798. 8; G. J. Planck, *Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der christlich kirchlichen Gesell-schaftsverfassung.* Hannov. 1803 ff. 5 Bde. 8; and R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung.* Bd. I. Wittenb. 1837. 8. Bearing on the history of the ritual and ceremonies of the Church, are, E. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus.* Ed. 3. Antv. 1736. 4 Vols. fol.; and also in some measure, C. Schöne, *Geschichtsforschungen über die kirchlichen Gebräuche und Einrichtungen der Christen, ihre Entstehung, Ausbildung und Veränderung.* Berl. 1819—22. 3 Bde. 8 (unfinished); and among other works which we shall have to quote under their different headings[1]. As bearing especially on Christian art and its history (a subject which in the following pages will only cursorily be touched upon, since its thorough discussion well demands an independent treatise[2]), we would mention J. C. W. Augusti, *Beiträge zur christl. Kunstgeschichte und Liturgik.* Lpz. Bd. I. 1841 (the second volume was published from the author's remains, with a preface by J. C. Nitzsch, 1846); as well as the following works (which have already been mentioned, § 3, among the sources of the History of Archæology):— on one side, J. Kreuser, *Kölner Dombriefe oder Beiträge zur altchristlichen Kirchenbaukunst.* Berl. 1844, and H.

[1] Also the Roman Catholic works, already cited, by Nickel and Staudenmaier.

[2] Analogous to the way that the history of classical art has vindicated to itself an exclusive treatment—*e. g.* in K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst.* Bresl. 1830. 2 Aufl. 1835. [the 3rd Edition, 1847, was posthumous]; and other writers.

Otte, *Abriss e. kirchl. Kunstarchäologie des Mittelalters.* Nordh. 2 Aufl. 1845; on the other, F. Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Alt. 1825; Helmsdörfer, *Christliche Kunstsymbolik.* Frkf. 1839; Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne.* Par. 1843; and H. Alt, *Die Heiligenbilder oder die bildende Kunst und die theol. Wissenschaft.* Berl. 1845.

The beginning of a collection of ancient and modern archæological commentaries is furnished by M. J. E. Volbeding, *Thesaurus commentationum selectarum illustrandis antiquitatibus christianis inservientium. T. I.* Lips. 1846.

PART FIRST.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AS A SOCIETY.

For the special works bearing on this subject, see p. 13.

CHAPTER FIRST.

MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. V.—NAMES.

THE members of the Christian Church are characteristically distinguished by the very names they originally bore. Among themselves they were called *μαθηταί*, *πιστοί*, *ἀδελφοί*. The Apostles in their epistles usually designate the believers as the *ἅγιοι* in Christ, the *ἐκλεκτοί*. Correspondent herewith are the many symbolical names which were likewise employed to designate the members of Christ's body. As the whole life of the Christian was regarded as a *militia Dei et Christi contra copias diaboli*, the Christians were frequently termed *milites Christi*; cf. Ignat. *epist. ad Polycarp.* c. vi.[1]; Tertullian, *ad mart.* c. III.[2]; Augustin. *Tract.* vi. *in Ev. Joh.* i.[3],—a metaphor which in the ceremonies of baptism was of frequent application and illustration.

[1] Ἀρέσκετε, ᾧ στρατεύσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια κομίζεσθε, μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὑρεθῇ. Τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

[2] Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, jam tunc, cum in sacramenti verba respondimus.

[3] Puta te esse militarem. Si characterem imperatoris tui intus habeas, securus militas; si extra habeas, non solum tibi ad militiam non prodest character ille, sed etiam pro desertore punieris. Compare also Augustinus(?) *Hom.* 82. § 4: Milites Christi sumus, et stipendium ab ipso donativumque percepimus.

The name of Christians (Χριστιανοί) was not in the first instance adopted by the faithful themselves, but was given to them by others (Acts xi.), and in the earliest instance to the converts who were the first-fruits of St Paul's ministry in Antioch. Of the Christians, it can be clearly shewn, that they employed none but the titles already quoted, or similar ones, to designate one another; the Jews, too, assuredly would never have named after their expected Messiah the adherents of what they believed to be a false and pernicious doctrine. Moreover, the termination *-ανοὶ* points decidedly to any but a Jewish origin. Consequently, there can be no doubt that this name is derived from the heathens of Antioch, who by it intended to denote the followers of Christ simply as such, and who easily fell upon this mode of designation, since for a long time the little known term 'Christus' was pronounced like the proper name Χρηστός, see Justin. *Apol.* I.[1]. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. III.[2], Lactant. *Instit.* IV.[3], compared with Sueton. *Vita Claudii.* c. 25[4]. Moreover, in the termination *-ανοὶ* of the term Χριστιανοί (analogous to *Pompeiani*) there was also implied a subordinate notion of contempt[5]. To the faithful themselves, it was an easy matter after the example of the Apostle, 1 John ii. 20[6], to give a spiritual interpretation to this name which had been applied to them in derision, and to it above all others. Thus St Jerome, *Comment. in Ps.* civ.[7], also *Acta Mart.* Ignatii, in

[1] ὅσον τε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν....Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα. τὸ δὲ Χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον.

[2] Christianus quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos), de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est.

[3] Exponenda hujus nominis (Christi) ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere.

[4] (Claudius Judæos) impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.

[5] This notion again we have got rid of in German by adopting with deep significance the abbreviated form of "*Christ*." "We call ourselves not *Christian-er*, but *Christ-er*, because not merely do we come after Him as His followers and disciples, but He also has taken up His abode in us as the Life of our life."

[6] Ὑμεῖς χρίσμα ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου.

[7] Christi autem sunt, qui Spiritu Sancto unguuntur.

Grabe, *Spicilegium*, T. XI. p. 101. Compare also Heumann, *De ortu nominis Christianorum*, Gott. 1736. By the Jews the first Christians were in contempt styled Ναζαραῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, designations which passed over from them to the heathens. It was for instance a favourite one with the Emperor Julian.

Sect. VI.—CLASSES.

The whole Christian body was from the very first divided into the baptized (those Christians who had duly been admitted into the communion of the saints — the πιστοὶ, τέλειοι, πεφωτισμένοι, μεμυημένοι[2], *fideles*), and the unbaptized, who were preparing for baptism (the κατηχούμενοι). Among the baptized themselves, a class analogous to that of the Catechumens was in later times formed out of the penitents (*pœnitentes*) and of the possessed (ἐνεργούμενοι), who were commended to the prayers and pity of the community—both being for the time excluded from full communion.

There was also another simple division of the whole Christian body into an official class of teachers and rulers, and into a second of the ruled and taught. It is with reference to this division of the whole Christian community into the rulers and the ruled, and to the subdivision of the latter again into baptized and catechumens, that mention also occurs in ancient writers of three principal classes: cf. Euseb. *Demonstr. Evang.* VII. 2[3] (λ).

[1] Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ τίς ἐστι θεοφόρος; Ἰγνάτιος ἀπεκρίνατο· ὁ Χριστὸν ἔχων ἐν στέρνοις. Compare also the analogous expression οἱ χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες, in a letter of Phileas, preserved by Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VIII. 10.

[2] μυέω to initiate into the mysteries.

[3] Τρία καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν τάγματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων, δύο δὲ τὰ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων, τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δύο τάγματα διηρημένου, εἴς τε τὸ μὲν πιστῶν καὶ τῶν δὲ μηδέπω τῆς διὰ λούτρου παλιγγενεσίας ἠξιωμένων.

Sect. VII.—PRIESTHOOD: THE CLERGY AND THE LAITY.

[Before the coming of Christ the sacerdotal office of the one great High Priest was typically prefigured by the Jewish priesthood. The atonement made every year by the lineal descendants of Aaron derived all its efficacy prospectively from that Atonement which in the fulness of time Christ was to make for the sins of the whole world. So when, that perfect expiation being made, the typical priesthood ceased, its place was supplied by a representative priesthood, whose ministrations draw all their virtue retrospectively from the same great event whenever at the Christian altar (Heb. xiii. 10) it offers up a sacrifice commemorative of that all-sufficient oblation of which the annual sin-offerings of the Jews were an anticipation.

As moreover the Israel of the flesh in that universal priesthood which was to offer up the continual sacrifice of praise and obedience (Exod xix. 5, 6), was succeeded by the whole Christian community, so the Jewish official priesthood was to have its successors in a body of official priests, separated from and taken out of the whole body of the faithful (Isaiah lxvi. 21).] The idea of the universal priesthood of Christians (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9[1]; Rev. i. 6[2]; compared with Justin M. *Dialog.* p. 209[3]), however legitimate a consequence it may be of the gospel, [is very far indeed from implying that every Christian, because he is one of a royal priesthood, to "shew forth His praises who has called us out of darkness into His marvellous light," is therefore also officially a priest to whom is committed the word of reconciliation, that "in Christ's stead" he might beseech and pray others to be reconciled to God (2 Cor. v. 19, 20).] On the contrary, an *office* of the word was con-

[1] Οἰκοδομεῖσθε...ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον...Ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, κ. τ. λ.

[2] Ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.

[3] Ἡμεῖς οἱ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματος,... πυρωθέντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ, εἰπών, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι θυσίας εὐαρέστους αὐτῷ καὶ καθαρὰς προσφέροντες, κ. τ. λ.

stituted by the very act of choosing and sending out the Apostles (A). [Accordingly St Paul in his epistles both indirectly (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29) and directly (Ephes. iv. 11, 12) distinguishes the officers of the Church from the general body of the saints.] As however even among the Christians, the human mind, set free from its former fetters, overstepped in many respects (mostly of a Gnostic bearing) the due measure, and it also shewed a disposition to encroach upon the limits of the official priesthood, the Church as early as the second and third Centuries directly opposed this confusion of ideas by earnestly and forcibly insisting on a notion of the priesthood, which, essentially derived from the Old Testament, was nevertheless modified and recast by the gospel (cf. Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. xvii.[1], and especially Cyprian, *Epist.* lxvi.[2], &c.) (B).

The terms κλῆρος, or κληρικός, by which the spiritual officers of the Church were at a very early date distinguished from the rest of the community (the λαός or λαικοί, plebs[3]), seem originally to have had the signification of κληρούμενοι, being employed to designate those who by the providence of God were chosen to a θεῖος κλῆρος, and particularly those who were elected to the office of teaching and ruling in the Church (Acts i. 17, 25[4], compared with

[1] Dandi baptismum quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate propter ecclesiæ honorem.

[2] Molestiis et laqueis secularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus et spiritalibus occupati, ab ecclesia recedere et ad terrenos et seculares actus vacare non possunt. Cujus ordinationis et religionis formam Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt, ut, cum terram diviserent, ...levitica tribus, quæ templo et altari et ministeriis divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisione portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus illa tantum Deum coleret.... Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut qui in ecclesia Domini ordinatione clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione divina avocentur, nec molestiis et negotiis secularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte cœlestibus rebus et spiritalibus serviant.

[3] Clerus et plebs, are the terms under which St Cyprian, *Epist.* 60, comprises the whole Christian community. So also Canones Apostolici, most clearly distinguish εἴ τις κληρικός, εἰ δὲ λαϊκός (*e. g. Can.* 64, 65), evidently implying a long previous use of such language.

[4] Ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης.—Λαβεῖν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς.

1 Pet. v. 3[1], and especially Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 28, and iii. 3[2]; Clemens Alex. *Quis dives salvus*, c. xlii.[3], and Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28, 1[4]). To this derivation of the name allusion is expressly made by St Augustin (*Expos. in Ps.* lxvii. 19[5], compared with Chrysostom, *Homil.* iii. *in Act. Ap.*[6]) At a later date the Levitical signification appears to have become the prevailing one—ὧν ὁ κληρός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, and *oi εἰσὶν ὁ κληρος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, according to Hieronymus, *Epist.* lii. (*al.* xxxiv.), and *Nepotianum*, § 5: *Clerici vocantur, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini vel quia ipse Dominus sors*, i. e. *pars clericorum est*, with a reference to Numbers xviii. 20, 21, and Deuter. x. 9, and xviii. 1, 2.

This priesthood of the New Testament soon came to be distinguished by the special terms *ordo* and *ordinare* (cf. Tertullian, *de Monogam.* c. xii., Augustin, *Epist.* cxxxvii., Hieron. *Comm. in Isai.* c. lvii.[7]) However, in the first centuries of Christianity, this idea of the universal priesthood appears still vividly to survive in many writers, as for instance, Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 20[8], and Tertull. *de Exhort.*

[1] Μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων, ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου.

[2] Κλῆρος τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς.—Κληροῦσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπήν.

[3] "Οπου δὲ κλῆρον ἕνα τέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.

[4] V. 28 (in an ancient Fragment belonging to the beginning of the third century): ἐπίσκοπος κληρωθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἱρέσεως. —V. 1 (in a passage which moreover belongs to the second century): Ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων.

[5] Nam et cleros et clericos hinc appellatos puto, qui sunt in ecclesiastici ministerii gradibus ordinati, quia Matthias sorte electus est, quem primum per apostolos legimus ordinatum.

[6] Κλῆρον αὐτὸν πανταχοῦ καλεῖ, δεικνὺς τῆς Θεοῦ χάριτος τὸ πᾶν ὂν καὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς, καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκων αὐτοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐκληρώσατο, καθάπερ τοὺς Λευίτας.

[7] In the passages cited, ordinare (Tertull. and August.) and ordinatio (Hieron. l. c.: χειροτονίαν, *i. e.* ordinationem clericorum) stands for consecration to holy offices; so indeed ordo, ordines, is used for the priesthood in general, and also for each of its several offices (Tertull. l. c. *De Ecclesiasticis Ordinibus Agebatur.* —Cf. Tertull. *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 7: Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas).—The term κανὼν in its later ecclesiastical signification of κανονικός, &c. is also used as equivalent almost with *ordo*. Cf. *Concil. Nic.* c. 17 (καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται), and c. 16 (οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι), with *Canones Apostol.* c. 14, where in the same sense stands also κατάλογος ἱερατικός.

[8] Omnes enim justi sacerdotum habent ordinem.

Cast. c. vii. and elsewhere[1], and even in so late a writer as Chrysostom, see *Homil.* xx. *in* 2 *Cor.*[2], and St Augustin also, *Sermo* xciv. *in Matth.* xxv.[3] There are too, in history, not a few instances of laymen being induced by this idea (which, however, it must be confessed they did not always interpret rightly), to set up in practical matters even an opposition to the clergy[4] (λ).

[1] *De Exh. Cast.* Vani erimus, si putaverimus quod sacerdotibus non liceat, laicis licere. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?—Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers, et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus. —Cf. *de Monog.* c. 7: Nos autem Jesus summus sacerdos et magnus patris, de suo vestiens, (quia, qui in Christo tinguuntur, Christum induerunt), sacerdotes Deo Patri suo fecit.

[2] εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἱερεύς. Ἔξεστί σοι εἰς τὰ φρικωδέστερα εἰσελθεῖν θύοντι τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, ἔνθα μηδεὶς ἄλλος ὁρᾷ· ὅτι τότε (in the Old Testament) μὲν ἀμφίθυρα καὶ παραπετάσματα τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐποίει· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστι δημοσίᾳ θυόντι ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τῶν ἁγίων κ.τ.λ.

[3] Nos ergo dispensatores sumus, nos erogamus, vos accipitis. —Sed etiam ad vos nolite existimare non pertinere erogationem. Non potestis erogare de isto loco superiore, sed potestis ubicumque estis. Agite virem nostram in domibus vestris Episcopus inde appellatus est, quia superintendendo curat unusquisque ergo in domo sua si caput est domui suæ, debet ad eum pertinere episcopatus officium, quomodo sui credant.

[4] Cf. e. g. the history of Origen, Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 9.

CHAPTER SECOND.

THE CHURCH AS A SOCIETY—ITS EARLIEST CONSTITUTION.

Sect. VIII.

THE intrinsic communion of all Christians—the fellowship of all such individuals as professed a common faith in Jesus Christ, naturally and necessarily found its external manifestation in the several Churches which the Holy Ghost collected together and constituted by the preaching of the gospel. But this extrinsic bond of the intrinsic fellowship of the several communities could not possibly subsist without a definite form of Church-government (A).

[As we have already observed, the universal priesthood of Christians does not necessarily exclude a ministerial priesthood.] The kingly character of all Christians made them all real and actual kings, just as much as their priestly character universally constituted every one of them really and actually ministerial priests. Ever since the first sending and calling of the twelve Apostles (Matt. x. 16; xxviii. 19; John xx. 21), there has been by the appointment of God's providence a ministry of the New Testament (2 Cor. iii. 6, &c.; iv. 1; vi. 3); a stewardship of the mysteries of God (1 Cor. iv. 1; Tit. i. 7), of pastors and teachers (Eph. iv. 11), and so forth—a ministry of the word (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15). For how could the visible body of the Christian Church ever have been maintained if there had not been in every congregation persons regularly called to preach the word, to feed the flock of Christ, and to rule and regulate the affairs of the community?

Accordingly, by the appointment of Christ, all the several communities were subject to the Apostles (who, however, for the organisation of particular Churches occa-

sionally delegated their authority to others, as for example Timothy and Titus).

[Under the Apostles, however, were priests (πρεσβύτεροι, called also ἐπίσκοποι), and deacons (διάκονοι). While of the first institution of the diaconate by the Apostles a detailed account is given (Acts vi.), that of the presbyterate is nowhere distinctly mentioned in the New Testament. Being, however, ordained by the Apostles in every Church (Acts xiv. 23), they as well as the deacons were subordinate (Acts xv. 6 and 23) and subject to them (Acts xx. 17). In the New Testament they are called indifferently πρεσβύτεροι or ἐπίσκοποι.] That these names were originally in all essential respects equivalent, results clearly enough from passages of the New Testament where the two terms are interchanged or used indifferently (Acts xx. 17 and 28, and 1 Tim. i. 5, 7[1]), and from others, where bishops (or presbyter-episcopi) (a) and deacons are alone mentioned as the only officers of the different Churches [under the Apostles] (Phil. i. 1, and 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8[2], compared with Clemens Romanus, *Ep.* i. *ad Cor.* c. xlii. xliv.[3]); as well as from the way in which throughout the New Testament the office of the presbyter is spoken of as the highest under that of the Apostles' (Acts xv. 6, 22 f.) (c).

The office of these presbyters or bishops (called also ποιμένες, ἡγούμενοι, προεστῶτες τῶν ἀδελφῶν) was [under

[1] According to Acts xx. 17, St. Paul summoned to Miletus the Ephesian πρεσβυτέρους, and reminded them that the Holy Ghost had set them ὑμᾶς ἐπισκόπους ... ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ; and in the Epistle to Titus, the Apostle reminds Titus that he had commissioned him to appoint κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, and then immediately states as the qualification therefor: Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.

[2] Here too ... πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις, σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις, κ. τ. λ. Such is the Apostle's greeting in the Epistle to the Philippians; and in 1 Tim. iii., after having said in the first verse, εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ἐφέσεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ, he proceeds in the second to lay down the qualifications requisite for the episcopate, τοὺς οὖν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κ. τ. λ., and then in the eighth he passes on at once to the diaconate, without ever mentioning presbyters.

[3] Clement of Rome also mentions here none but bishops and deacons as appointed by the Apostle, without any allusion to presbyters: whereas it is quite evident that the Apostles had instituted presbyters.

the Apostles] to feed the Church of God[1] (Acts xx. 28, and 1 Pet. v. 2). The office of teaching properly so called[2] formed naturally and necessarily a principal and essential branch of their duties. It was in fact in this that, according to Christ's institution (Matt. xxviii. 19) and the Apostolic ordinance (Acts vi. 4[3], Eph. iv. 11, &c.), the duties of the office centered. Accordingly, aptitude to teach was expressly required of all presbyters and bishops[4] (1 Tim. iii. 2, and Tit. i. 9[5]). In spite of this requirement, however, we find that even in the Apostles' time there were priests (*πρεσβύτεροι*[6]) who were not zealous to "labour in the word and doctrine" (1 Tim. v. 17)[7].

[1] This feeding of the church of God they accomplished, as indeed they only could, by preaching the word of God (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Acts vi. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 9, v. 18; Titus i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 2), as messengers in Christ's stead (2 Cor. v. 20), with administration of the sacraments (1 Cor. iv. 1, compared with Matt. xxviii. 19, and Luke xxii. 19), and with the power of the keys, or the forgiveness of sins (John xx. 23, and Matt. xviii. 12), only not as lords over God's heritage, and having dominion over their faith, but as ensamples of the flock and helpers of their joy (1 Peter v. 3, and 2 Cor. i. 24), and after this they had the rule of the whole church. Cf. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. 39.

[2] The ordinary office of teaching:—of extraordinary gifts of grace in the Apostles' time, among which, as regards doctrine, must be reckoned the gift of prophecy, there virtually can be no question here. Such gifts were assuredly not attached to any official function, and consequently cannot be a matter of archæological notice.

[3] Here the presbyteral office of the Apostles, as contradistinguished from the (original) diaconate, is described simply as the ministry of the word (*ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν*).

[4] That in these passages official ability to teach is meant, and not merely such as the scriptures require of Christians individually (Col. iii. 16), follows from the mere fact, that it was not required of the (original) deacons (1 Tim. iii. 8), among the requisites there enumerated of their office, as indeed their office was originally distinct from that of the ministry of the word (Acts vi. 4).

[5] *Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ... εἶναι...διδακτικόν.—Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ... εἶναι ... ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.*

[6] Unless perhaps in 1 Tim. v., and probably also Acts vi. 22, the term elders is employed in an improper and loose sense so as to designate generally all the early officers of the church, and so includes the deacons also. (At any rate, wherever in the New Testament the diaconate is expressly distinguished from the presbyterate, the latter is never spoken of by the term *πρεσβύτεροι*, but always by that of *ἐπίσκοποι* [Phil. i. 1, and 1 Tim. iii. 8]; and it is well known that in later times,

On the authority of the latter passage a disposition has been shewn in very different quarters[1] to assert the existence, in the Apostles' times, of two distinct classes of presbyters —one engaged in teaching, and one entrusted with the government of the Church, and wholly exempt from the duties of teaching. But even supposing that it could be proved beyond doubt, that at the period in question[2] affairs did spontaneously assume this shape in a few Churches, so that they were furnished both with teaching and ruling presbyters—what, it is argued, is quite natural to suppose, since the gospel was originally diffused principally among the uneducated classes, of whom but few comparatively were qualified for the office of teachers; yet at any rate this was only a temporary, and in some degree, an irregular accident. For most decidedly does the Apostle require aptitude to teach, and indeed (we have already remarked) ability to teach officially, as an indispensable qualification in all that should be chosen to the office of a presbyter; and this he evidently does with a view to keep out all false teaching (1 Tim. iii. 2, and Tit. i. 9, compared with 2 Tim. ii. 21[3]). While the conclusion from 1 Tim. v. 17, that there existed regularly in the Apostles' times a special kind of presbyters, who officially had nothing to do with teaching, is the more untenable, since the emphatic portion of the sentence is not ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ, but κοπιῶντες. That this is so, clearly fol-

the deaconesses were also called πρεσβυτίδες.)

[1] Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν· μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ. [See on this passage Saravia, *Three Orders of Christian Priesthood*, c. xiii.]

[1] So Calvin, Neander, Scheibel, etc.

[2] And also perhaps subsequently to the Apostles' times. Thus the *presbyteri doctores* mentioned (Cyprian, *Epist.* 24 *ad Clerum*, p. 33. ed. Baluz.), suggest the inference that there may have been at Carthage at that date *presbyteros non doctores*.

[3] And that this, even after the Apostles' times, was required of *all* presbyters, is testified in like manner by the ancient prayers in the ordination service for priests (*Constitutt. Apostol.* vii. 16), where prayer is made not merely in general terms: πλήθυνον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ (in Thy church) προεστῶτας καὶ δὸς δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ κοπιᾷν αὐτοὺς λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ λαοῦ σου, but also supplication is expressly made for each one of those about to be ordained: ὅπως τληθεὶς ἐνεργημάτων ἰατικῶν καὶ λόγου διδακτικοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

lows from the Apostle having employed this word instead of the more general terms elsewhere used (such for instance as *τρεπόμενοι versantes*). Any such definitely arranged division of duties among the early Christians as this supposition of two distinct classes of presbyters implies for the first Apostolical times, is rendered in the highest degree improbable by the then existing indefiniteness of the forms of proceeding and the course of administration; while as regards later times, any warrant for such an hypothesis is in vain sought for. The existence of a regular class of presbyters who by their office were not required to preach, is by no means proved by the passage sometimes adduced from the Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in* 1 *Tim.* v. 1; for the passage itself is on the one hand extremely obscure, and on the other a different interpretation seems the more natural one[1]. The existence of certain lay-elders in those times after the Apostles, at least in those immediately subsequent to the Apostolical age—which has been appealed to in support of the conclusion we have just been considering, is in the highest degree problematical. At all events, it is absolutely impossible to prove that they ever acted as proper presbyters, and this not only because the passages adduced in support of the inference are obscure and isolated, but because for the most part the natural interpretation of these passages tends to prove the direct contrary; while, moreover, the character of the clergy in the times after the Apostles makes it absolutely improbable[2].

[1] The passage thus runs: Apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus: unde et Synagoga et postea ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. Quod qua negligentia obsoleverit nescio, nisi forte doctorum desidia aut magis superbia. The *seniores* are in this passage evidently distinguished from the *doctores*, but also are still more clearly spoken of as actually *elders*, *senes*; so that it is not to say altogether improbable, yet certainly any thing but certain, that they are spoken of as actual presbyters. Cf. R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der Christl. Kirche*, s. 225 f.

[2] Cf. Rothe, p. 227 ff. If there be really any ground for assuming the existence of such *seniores plebis* in any place in the times subsequent to the Apostles' (as there were certainly some in the 4th century, see above, § 12), still we must in such a case understand by them nothing else than some office analogous to the officers who preside over our [*i. e.* Lutheran] congregations, and who [by an abuse or at least a misapplication of terms] are also called elders, whose office however is by

In the whole Church the Apostolical office of preaching the word was discharged [under the Apostles themselves, or those to whom they had delegated their full powers (A)] by these πρεσβύτεροι or ἐπίσκοποι of the Apostles' times; while it was also promoted by the Christian temper of all the members of the congregation; and this formed an essential feature of the constitution of the Church of the Apostles' times.

(B) Besides the presbyterate, the diaconate was also instituted by the Apostles (Διάκονοι, Acts vi. 1, Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12[1]). According to Acts vi., the [principal] object of the institution of deacons was the care of the poor and sick; while the Apostles confined their labours exclusively to the duties of preaching. The number of deacons first appointed was seven; of these Stephen, and especially Philip, are spoken of almost immediately after their appointment both as preaching the word (Acts vi. 7, 8[2]), and as baptizing[3] (Acts viii. 12, &c.), for indeed, according to the Apostles' ordinance, all were required to be "full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom."

An analogous care and consideration for the female portion of the congregation, led, in the Apostles' times, to the institution of deaconesses (Rom. xvi. 1, comp. with

no means to be set on a par with the ministerial or spiritual office of the episcopal presbyters;—to say nothing of such passages as Origenes, *Homil.* 11 *in Exod.* § 6. ed. Ruæ. II. 170, seq.: Audiant principes populi et presbyteri plebis; and Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. 39: Præsident probati quique seniores; which, under somewhat varying names, nevertheless speak only of the usual clerical presbyters. See below, § 12.

[1] Διάκονος is certainly not here used of the teachers of the church in their wider and more general sense wherein it is frequently employed in the New Testament (1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6, &c.)

[2] Stephen, however, only on a special occasion (vi. 8, &c.), and Philip, held the office not merely of a deacon, but at the same time that also of an evangelist, and therefore also an office of teaching. For whatever were the teaching duties of the presbyterate in the several constituted churches, the same were discharged by the evangelists as wandering preachers to the Gentiles among whom the church had yet to be built up. See Ephes. iv. 11, and Theodoret on this passage [ἐκεῖνοι, says Theodoret of the evangelists, περιΐοντες ἐκήρυττον. Comp. also Euseb. *H. E.* V. 9.] Thus then the labour in the word on the part of the deacons was not an official duty.

[3] Though according to Acts viii. 16, without communicating the Holy Spirit.

1 Tim. v. 9—15, and moreover, with Plinius, *Epist. ad Traj.* epp. x. 96[1]).

As regards the appointment of ministers in the Apostolical Church, the Apostles themselves were chosen immediately by Christ Himself, and to them He committed the fulness of spiritual authority for choosing others also [John xx. 21, compared with Acts i. 15—26]; of which prerogative the Apostles appear to have foregone the exercise only in less important particulars. Thus we see that the seven deacons were indeed "looked out" by the "brethren," but at the instigation, and subject to the approval of, the Apostles (Acts vi.). The first presbyters, on the other hand, were chosen directly by the Apostles, or by those to whom they had delegated their Apostolical powers (Tit. i. 5, compared with Acts xiv. 23[2]), while in the times immediately succeeding they were (according to Clemens Romanus) appointed by the representatives and successors of the Apostles (without doubt by those who, even at this date, were already pre-eminently styled bishops[3]),

[1] On the subject of Deacons and Deaconesses, see further, § 13.

[2] Κατέλιπόν σε (says St Paul to Titus), ἵνα...καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην; and also in the Acts it is narrated of SS. Paul and Barnabas that χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. This institution of the presbyters or bishops of the apostles' times by the Apostles, is also asserted by Clement of Rome, *Ep.* 1 *ad Corr.* c. 44 (see the following note), where he includes the deacons also under this act of election by the Apostles. (Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες—says he of the Apostles—καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν).

[3] Clement of Rome, in the passage above cited, does not directly name bishops as choosing the prebyters and priests; however, the "eminently distinguished men," or, according to another rendering, "men expressly appointed for the purpose" (ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες), whom he does designate as such electors, can scarcely have been any others than (at least principally) the bishops, κατ' ἐξοχήν. In any case they were the representatives and successors of apostolical authority. The whole passage of Clemens Romanus,—the *locus classicus* on the subject of the election of bishops, priests, &c., in the times immediately succeeding the apostolic age, runs thus: Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ., ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους (viz. the apostolically appointed ἐπισκόπους and διακόνους, whom he had previously mentioned by these

not, however, without the assent and concurrence of the whole laity.

Lastly, the priests as well as deacons were consecrated to their office with prayer and imposition of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14, 2 Tim. i. 6, Acts vi. 6, 1 Tim. v. 22), and that indeed either by Apostles (Acts vi. 6, 2 Tim. i. 6), or by their representatives (1 Tim. v. 22) (A).

Sect. IX.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

Besides the older ecclesiastical writers, cf. Kist, *Ueber d. Ursprung d. bischöflichen Gewalt in d. Christlichen Kirche*, in Journal *Archief voor kerckelijke geschiedenis*, Th. 2. Leyd. 1830, s. 1—61, published by him and Royaards, and translated into German by L. C. Moseler. Munst. 1832, and with the author's own additions in Illgen's *Zeitschrift fur die historische Theologie*, Bd. ii. St. 2, s. 46—90, and R. Rothe, *Die Anfange d. Christlichen Kirche. u. ihrer Verfassung*, Bd. i. Wittenb. 1837, s. 171 ff., and 311—351, especially s. 351 ff. [Abp. Potter, *On Church Government;* Bp. Bilson, *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church;* Bp. J. Taylor, *Episcopacy Asserted;* Bp. Hall, *Episcopacy by Divine Right;* Harrington, *Apostolical Succession, and the necessity of Episcopal Succession;* Hammond, *The Power of the Keys;* Saravia, *Three Orders of Christian Priesthood;* Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, Book v.; Bingham,

titles, chap. 42), καὶ μεταξὺ τὴν ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν[for Guericke's interpretation of this ἐπινομή, see App. B.], ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων (those elected by *them; i. e.* either by the apostles, or probably by the apostles and by the bishops, &c., originally appointed by them, or even indeed by the latter alone, for the allusion of ἐκείνων is not very clear), ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν (*i.e.* at any rate by those who in the mean time had succeeded to the apostles—the ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες, who were just before mentioned) συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,...τούτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας, κ. τ. λ. Since these ἕτεροι ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες are in any case none other than the successors of the bishops appointed by the apostles, the meaning of the passage is clear enough as regards the question before us.

Antiquities, B. ii. c. 1; Abp. Cranmer, *Apostolical Succession, and the Power of the Keys.*]

(a) In the Apostles' times there were no doubt bishops or presbyters. As long however as the Apostles lived these presbyter-bishops were not bishops in the later sense of the term; for the Apostles themselves discharged those duties which formed the peculiar functions of the later so-styled bishops. [As it was by the Apostles that these presbyter-bishops had been ordained (Acts xiv. 23), so they as well as deacons were subordinate (Acts xv. 6, 23) and subject to the Apostles (Acts xx. 17). This superior authority over both presbyters and deacons, together with the prerogative of choosing and ordaining others, as well as the supervision (ἐπισκοπή) "of all the Churches" (2 Cor. xi. 28) in a particular district, the Apostles committed to others, when they themselves were about to be removed from the scenes of their labours, either by the circumstances of their ministry, or by death[1]. Such successors of the Apostles were Timothy in Asia, and Titus in Crete, who, to judge from the pastoral epistles, were evidently invested with all those functions which in later times were peculiar to bishops as distinguished from presbyters. Such also, in all probability, was Epaphroditus (Philip. ii. 2, see Theodoret, *Ep. ad Philip.* i. 1, tom. iii. p. 445, Ed. Halens[2], and ii. 25, *ib.* p. 459[3]). These representatives of the Apostles are in the New Testament called also by the same name of Apostles (ἀπόστολοι), but afterwards the name of Apostle came to be exclusively confined to the Apostles called directly by Christ himself (by Jesus Christ, Gal. i. 1), while the title of bishop ceased in like

[1 Archbp. Cranmer, *The Apostolical Succession, and the Power of the Keys.* (Justus Jonas' *Catechismus.*) "After Christ's ascension the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's word, and chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already which lacked preachers, and the Apostles themselves could no longer abide with them."]

[2 Τὸν δέ γε μακάριον Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν κέκληκεν· ὑμῶν γάρ φησιν ἀπόστολον καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς χρείας μου. Σαφῶς τοίνυν ἐδίδαξεν ὡς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευτο ἔχων ἀποστόλου προσηγορίαν.]

[3 Ἀπόστολον δὲ αὐτὸν κέκληκεν αὐτῶν ὡς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένον· ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτου ἐτέλουν οἱ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ κληθέντες ἐπίσκοποι, τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου δηλονότι τὴν τάξιν πληροῦντες.]

manner to designate the whole body of the presbyters, indifferently, and in a narrow sense was employed to designate those who were Apostles only *of men and by man*, and had been called to the Apostleship by God indeed, but only indirectly through the Apostles pre-eminently so called (Theodoret, *Epist.* i. *ad Timoth.* p. 652, Tom. iii.[1], Ambrosiaster, *Commentar. in Ep. ad Galat.* i. p. 220[2]).]

Sect. X.—DIFFERENT CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES, CITY CHURCHES, COUNTRY AND DAUGHTER CHURCHES.

Naturally enough it was in the towns that Christianity was first propagated, and particularly in the greater cities; from these it spread into the country[3]. Of the preaching of the gospel in the rural districts only isolated notices are to be met with. Such, however, are clearly to be found in Clemens Rom. *Ep.* i. c. 42[4]; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 83[5]; Plinius, *Epistoll.* x. 96[6]; Origenes

[1 Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν πρεσβύτερον λέγει ὡς τὴν πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολὴν ἑρμηνεύοντες ἀπεδείξαμεν. Ῥᾴδιον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μαθεῖν. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπισκοπικοὺς νόμους, τοὺς τοῖς διακόνοις προσήκοντας γράφει, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παραλιπών. Ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον. Τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἀποστόλοις κατέλιπον, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν· Οὕτω Φιλιππησίων ἀπόστολος ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἦν, κ.τ.λ.]

[2 Apostolum se non ab hominibus electum et missum ad prædicandum testatur, sicut erant quidam, qui electi ab Apostolis mittebantur (i.e. under the name of Apostles) ad Ecclesias roborandas.]

[3] See F. A. Knittel, *Prisca Ruris Ecclesia*. Brunsv. 1767.

[4] The apostles are described here as κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, appointing officers of the Church—(see the passages above, p. 28, n. 3)—whereas St Paul only bids Titus to appoint priests or presbyters, κατὰ πόλιν, Titus i. 5; and the accounts of the apostles' journeys in the Acts, as well as the Canonical Epistles, speak really of none but city congregations.

[5] At least he has in his mind rural Christians, when he says: καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται.

[6] Neque enim civitates solum—he reports to the Emperor—sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis illius (i. e. Christianity) contagio pervagata est.

contra Celsum, l. iii. ed. Spencer, p. 116[1]. Consequently the city Churches were the original ones, and that constitution of the Church and of the officers of the Church in the form we have already become acquainted with, had reference principally to the city Churches.

The constitution of the country Churches differed according to the way in which they originally embraced Christianity itself. If they had received it directly, they generally had bishops and presbyters of their own. Such presidents of country Churches (ἐπίσκοποι τῆς χώρας or Χωρεπίσκοποι[2]) as they are first actually mentioned in the 3rd Century in the synodal epistle addressed to Dionysius of Rome on the subject of Paul of Samosata (given by Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 30[3]), appear also in the 4th Century as presidents of a circle of village churches (*συμμορία*, Basilius, *Epist.* cxlii. 290). In the course of the 4th Century, however, their powers seem to have been in various ways limited during a contest with the city bishops (*Concil. Ancyran.* A.D. 314, c. 13[4], and *Concil. Antiochen.* A.D. 341, c. 10[5]), principally on the subject of the right of ordaining which was denied to them. About this time they disappear almost entirely from history. As early as A.D. 341 we find the Council of Sardica by its sixth canon forbidding the appointment of such bishops[6]; while in

[1] He also speaks expressly of the Gospel in the rural districts: Δῆλον...Χριστιανοὺς μὴ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπισπείρειν τὸν λόγον· τινὲς οὖν ἔργον πεποίηνται, ἐκπεριέγχεσθαι οὐ μόνον πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κώμας καὶ ἐπαύλεις, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους εὐσεβεῖς τῷ Θεῷ κατασκευάσωσιν.

[2] Certainly not according to the derivation supposed by Rabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Sacerdot.* i. 5, Ex choro sacerdotes.

[3] He makes a distinction between ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀργῶν τε καὶ πόλεων.

[4] Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν.

[5] Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἢ ταῖς χώραις ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ, καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ ἐφορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προσαγωγῇ· μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ᾗ ὑπόκεινται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα. εἰ δὲ τολμήσειέ τις παραβῆναι τὰ ὁρισθέντα, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς μετέχει τιμῆς. Χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ᾗ ὑπόκειται, ἐπισκόπου.

[6] Licentia vero danda non est ordinandi episcopum aut in vico aliquo, aut in modica civitate, cui

their room the fifty-seventh canon[1] of the council of Laodicea, A.D. 360, orders the appointment of commissaries (*περιοδευταί*), probably presbyters, who in the name and by the commission of the bishop (*i. e.* of the city bishops) were to visit the rural churches (see *Concil. Chalced. Œcu.* Art. 4, A.D. 451, and *Concil. Constantinop.* Art. 1, A.D. 536[2]). As late, however, as the 5th and 6th Centuries we still meet with traces of chorepiscopi, which in the 8th and 9th Centuries indeed become frequent again[3].

The case was very different in such rural districts, and indeed in such smaller towns also as had received Christianity from the cities. In these cases the country people at first joined the religious worship of the cities (Justin M. *Apol.* i. p. 83[4]); afterwards, when their numbers were increased, they obtained from the bishop a priest (*πρεσβύτερος*) to minister expressly to them (cf. *Acta Proconsularia Cypriana*, § 1[5], and Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 24[6]), who at a later period was entitled *parochus*, or *presbyter parochianus, plebanus,* and not unfrequently presided over several villages—as many even as ten or more, according to Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, c. LXXXV. 45.

sufficit unus presbyter; quia non est necesse ibi episcopum fieri, ne vilescat nomen episcopi et auctoritas.

[1] "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἢ ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς.

[2] At Chalcedon mention is made of ὁ εὐλαβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ περιοδευτὴς Ἀλεξανδρος, and at Constantinople, Σέργιος πρεσβύτερος περιοδευτὴς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῆς πρώτης Σύρων ἐπαρχίας.

[3] Theodoret, Epist. 113, distinguishes two presbyters as χωρεπίσκοποι. At the Council of Chalcedon a χωρεπίσκοπος subscribed as substitute for a bishop. In the beginning of the sixth Century Polycarp the chorepiscopus of Philoxenus, bishop of Hieropolis, as the author of a Syrian version of the New Testament. And in the eighth and ninth centuries the chorepiscopi were formally leagued against the bishops, &c. &c. Thomassin, *Vet. et Nova Eccl. Discipl.* p. I. lib. II. c. 2.

[4] See the passages above, p. 31, n. 8.

[5] The proconsul before whom Cyprian was brought asked him: 'Volo ergo scire ex te, qui sint presbyteri, qui in hac civitate consistunt?' Cyprian replied: 'Detegi et deferri a me non possunt, in civitatibus autem suis invenientur.' If in this passage *civitates* stands simply for the smaller towns, it will only furnish a still stronger confirmation of the point which it is quoted to prove.

[6] According to this passage there were present at the Antichiliastic Disputation of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, *πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν*, belonging to the district of Arsinoe.

The several country churches—called *παροικίαι, parochiæ*, according to one of the later significations of this term (*e. g.* in Basil. M. *Epist.* ccvi. ccxl., &c.[1]), whereas in earlier times this word designated any body of Christians (Irenæus, as quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24[2], compared with the derivation of the word as given by Clemens Romanus, *Ep.* i. *ad Cor.* sub init.[3])—formed a whole, also called in like manner *parochia*[4], or even *diœcesis* in the limited and no longer political sense of the latter term[5], and as such they were connected with and subordinate to the *Ecclesia Cathedralis* (so called from *Cathedra*, the bishop's seat), or the *Ecclesia principalis, matrix*. On the whole, however, the condition of the rural churches was very far from having attained to order and system even by the 4th and 5th Century (cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xviii. *in Acta App.*

[1] In his Epist. 240, for instance, Basil greets *πάντα τὸν κλῆρον, τόν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παροικίας*. In a manner perfectly analogous to this is the word *parochia* employed by the Western Church in the 2d can. of the second council of Vaison, 529 A. D.: non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis. For the sake of greater distinctness, the Council of Chalcedon, c. 17, employs the words *ἀγροικαὶ παροικίαι*.

[2] In reference to the dispute about the celebration of Easter, Irenæus cites the practice of earlier bishops of Rome, who although they did not observe the disputed rule, nevertheless tolerated it in the members of foreign 'churches' who might be sojourning at Rome: (*αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρηνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς*).—And this usage of the term *παροικία* is followed by Eusebius himself shortly before quoting this passage of Irenæus. For he speaks of *τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας*. It is also observed by the *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* (Concil. Carthag. IV. a. 398), c. 31: (Diacones et presbyteri in parochia constituti nihil audeant commutare cet.)—Essentially, the word *παροικία* is employed in the same signification, *Canones Apostol.* c. 13: (*ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιπηδᾶν*); for the notions of episcopal churches and episcopal dioceses are here coincident.

[3] Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμης τῇ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κορίνθου.

[4] So *e. g.* Basilius M. ep. 66.

[5] In a political sense the term *διοίκησις* stood for one of the districts into which Constantine's four præfectures were divided, being themselves subdivided again into provinces (s. J. E. T. Wiltsch, *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Geographie und Statistik*. Bd. I. Berl. 1846. s. 56 ff.), but in ecclesiastical phraseology the term *διοίκησις* was employed differently; either more narrowly, as in the case above noticed, or more widely, to signify the diocese of a bishop or metropolitan.

Opp. Vol. ix. p. 149, and his description of the country clergy in Syria, *Oratio* xix. *de Statuis*, *Opp.* ii. 139).

In the cities themselves moreover the cathedral churches were by no means the only ones. In many places a single church soon ceased to be sufficient for the growing numbers of the believers. In the 3rd Century, Optatus of Mileve, *de Schismate Donatistarum*, ii. 4, could already speak of more than forty churches in Rome[1], in which city by the middle of the 3rd Century at latest there were certainly as many as forty-six presbyters (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43[2]). In such instances two courses were adopted. In some cities, the whole number of believers continued to form one body, and in this case the clergy or priests of the principal church provided for the celebration of Divine worship in the other churches merely on Sundays and festivals. Thus in a part of Constantinople, where the clergy of the Bishop's church of St Sophia had also the charge of no less than three daughter-churches (on the authority of Justinian, *Novell.* iii. c. 1), and still longer in Rome, where the clergy nominated to the daughter-churches of the city (the so-called *tituli*[3]), were still incorporated among the bishop's clergy (Innocentius I. [A.D. 400] *Epist. ad Decent.* c. v.[4]) In other instances perfectly independent daughter-churches were organized, which were subordinate only to the principal church of the bishop. This was the case in the other parts of Constantinople (cf. Justinian, *Novell.* lvii. c. 2).

[1] Inter quadraginta, et quod excurrit, basilicas locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant.

[2] Πρεσβύτεροι τεσσαράκοντα ἓξ are mentioned in the letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome in the third century; where, however, a *varia lectio* gives τεσσαράκοντα δύο.

[3] This perplexing name has been variously interpreted. Cf. Bingham, *Origines*, 8. b. I. c. 10. sec. Vol. I. p. 278. ed. 1726. fol. [Baronius supposes they were so called because they were marked by a cross as belonging to Christ, but Bingham objects both that it is not clear that this sign was so early fixed upon churches; and in any case it would not be used as a distinction of parish-churches from the Bishop's or Cathedral-church, which had this sign as soon as any others. Bingham himself is inclined to adopt Mede's suggestion, that they were so called as giving a title or cure to the Presbyters to whom they were committed]; and Böhmer, *Die Christlich-kirchliche Alterthumswissenchaft*. Th. I. s. 246 f.

[4] At least according to the interpretation of the passages which is maintained by Neander, *Kirchengesch*, II. 344.

CHAPTER THIRD.

CHURCH OFFICERS.

Sect. XI.—THE BISHOP.

AMONG the whole body of the clergy, and even among those of the greater orders—the *ordines majores*, the bishop (*ποιμήν*, *ἡγούμενοι*, &c.) held the first place. He was also entitled *pater* (Augustin, *Enar. in Psalm.* xliv.[1]), *pope*, *papa*, or *πάπας*—a title for eminent bishops generally, according to Tertull. *de Pudicit.* c. xiii.; Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxi.; Gregor. Thaumat. *Epist. canon.* c. i.[2]—and not before the 6th Century exclusively arrogated by the Roman bishops[3]—also *præpositus*, Cyprian, *Ep.* iii. 13, &c., *πατριάρχης* (the latter according to Gregor. Nyss. *Orat. Funeb. in Melet.*[4], an honorary designation of every bishop in the 4th Century; and it is in Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 8, that it is first used to designate a special dignity); also *antistes* (Augustin, *Epist.* liv. c. 4); and at a later date also *pontifex*, *summus pontifex*, &c. On the other hand, all such titles as *μητροπολίτης*, *ἔξαρχος*, *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, were from the very first merely hierarchical designations of certain higher gradations of episcopal rank.

The canonical age for a bishop, as well as for a presbyter, was thirty (*Concil. Neocæsar.* c. xi.[5] A.D. 315); and indeed fifty, according to a regulation which never seems to have been enforced (*Constitut. Apos.* ii. 1[6]).

In the choice of a bishop, as of the clergy generally, the

[1] Patres missi sunt Apostoli; pro Apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt episcopi. Ipsa ecclesia patres eos appellat.

[2] Tertullian calls a bishop, Bonus pastor et benedictus papa. Cyprian is thus addressed even by the Roman clergy: Cypriano papæ presbyteri et diaconi Romæ consistentes. Gregory addresses a bishop: *ἱερὲ πάπα*. [That also the titles of Bishop of Bishops, *Episcopus Episcoporum*, and Vicar of Christ, were originally common to all bishops, and not exclusively the style of bishops of Rome; see Bingham, Book II. c. xi. §§ 8, and 10.]

[3] Cf. J. Diecmann, *De Vocis Papæ Ætatibus.* Viteb. 1671. 4.

[4] Gregory, speaking of bishops who were present, says: *ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πατριάρχας τούτους.*

[5] *Πρεσβύτερος πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μὴ χειροτονείσθω.*

[6] *Τὸν καθιστάμενον ἐπίσκοπον...δεῖ ὑπάρχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα.*

assent of the laity was in earlier times regarded as necessary (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXVIII.[1] compared with *Epist.* XXXIII.[2]) In the third century, it was usual for the bishops of the province, conjointly with the clergy of the vacant see, to elect the new bishop in presence of the congregation (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXVIII. compared with Origen, *Homil.* VI. *in Levit.*[3], and also with Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Sev.* C. XLV.[4]). Subsequently the influence of the bishops in episcopal elections[5] greatly increased (as at the same time did

[1] Plebs ipsa (says Cyprian, ep. 68,) maximam habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi. And this he thus explains, ep. 33 (addressed to the clergy and laity of Carthage): In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.

[2] Diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

[3] Requiritur enim—says Origen generally of ordination, and with regard to the part to be taken therein by the laity—in ordinando sacerdote et præsentia populi, ut sciant omnes et certi sint, quia qui præstantior est ex omni populo, qui doctior, qui sanctior, qui in omni virtute eminentior...ille eligitur ad sacerdotium, et hoc adstante populo, ne qua postmodum retractatio cuiquam, ne quis scrupulus resideret.

[4] Lampridius, as a precedent in favour of the people exercising a considerable influence in the disposal of civil offices, appeals to the practice of the Christians in conferring spiritual ones. Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare vel præpositos facere vel procuratores,... nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret;...grave esse, cum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita.

[5] The Council of Nice (A.D. 325), can. 4, without alluding to any participation of the people, merely orders that the bishop should be instituted by all the bishops of the province:—ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι—(in case of need by at least three present at the time, and with the assent of those absent expressed in writing,) and with confirmation by the metropolitan; whereas the *Canones Apostolici*, can. 1, require merely that two or three bishops should concur in the episcopal election (Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν), on the other hand, the Council of Antioch (A.D. 341), can. 19, requires the presence of the metropolitan and the majority of the bishops of the province (who in this case are also to express their consent in writing), and in the event of any difference of opinion the greater number of votes is to carry the election (εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὡρισμένον κανόνα γίγνοιτο ἡ κατάστασις, ἀντιλέγοιεν δέ τινες δι' οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν, κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφον).

that also of the civil power); however, the laity still retained some voice in the matter, especially in the Western Church. Celestin I. bishop of Rome (A.D. 422), in his *Epist.* ii. c. 5 (in *Mansi*, iv. 466), ascribes to the laity a valid veto, and requires the concurrent consent of the clergy, the laity, and the civil power[1]. Essentially the same condition is insisted upon still later by Leo the Great, *Epist.* xii. § 5, and *Epist.* x. (*al.* LXXXIX.) § 6[2]; for in doubtful cases he makes the metropolitan's ultimate decision to depend on the votes of the electors and the worthiness of the candidate; and indeed, it is only against irregularities on the part of the laity in the election, or rather against an election by the laity without the concurrence and participation of the clergy, and consequently against all tumultuary proceedings, that certain rigorous canons of the Church were drawn up. (For instance, *Concil. Laodic.* circ. 360 A.D., can. 13[3]).

For the most part (according to Celestin's letter already quoted[4]) the bishop was chosen from among the clergy of the vacant church, and in truth mostly from among those of the *ordines majores*—the priests, *i.e.* and deacons[5]. The choice of laymen for bishops[6] is forbidden by Siricius, bishop of Rome (ob. 398 A.D.), *Epist.* iii. § 3, and *Epist.* x.

[1] Nullus invitis detur episcopus. Cleri, plebis et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur.

[2] Qui præfuturus est omnibus (says Leo in the latter place), ab omnibus eligatur. And in the former still more precisely of the choice of priests or presbyters in general, and therefore more especially of bishops: Cum de sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit; ita ut, si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis; tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur.

[3] Μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.

[4] Then only (is the decision of Celestine) alter de altera eligatur ecclesia, *si* de civitatis ipsius clericis, cui est episcopus ordinandus, nullus dignus, quod evenire non creditur, poterit evenire.

[5] Of bishops elected from the order of subdeacons or readers, the only cases adduced by Bingham (*Origines*, Book II. c. x. sect. 6), are isolated ones, and justified by necessity.

[6] Ambrose of Milan, for instance, as is well known, was when a mere layman, and indeed only a catechumen, advanced to the bishopric of Milan by the memorable acclamation of the people (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 5, 6, and the ancient *Vita Ambrosii*, p. 3).

§ 13[1]; whereas the council of Sardica (probably A.D. 347), can. 13[2], did at most only put certain restrictions thereon, since it required a previous investiture of some subordinate spiritual office, and at the same time prohibited the election of a novice. Indeed, it seems almost inevitable that in episcopal elections much impropriety, or at least irregularity, should occur (which was not, however, in every case to the prejudice of the Church[3])—a subject which, as far as it refers to the Oriental Church, is touched upon and decried by Gregory Nazianzen in his famous poem, *Carmen de se ipso et adversus Episcopos*, especially v. 166 ff.

After the bishop was elected he was consecrated and ordained by imposition of hands (χειροθεσία), with prayer[4], and indeed (in the earlier times[5]) by the bishops of the province (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXVIII., and *Concil. Nicæn.* c. iv., compared with *Con. Arelat.* A.D. 314, c. XX.[6]) To this original rite of ordination several customs were subsequently added, such as laying a copy of the gospel on the head of the bishop

[1] The latter being an address from a Roman synod to the Gallican bishops.

[2] Necessarium arbitror (thus the council quotes with approbation the words of bishop Hosius), ut diligentissime tractetis, si forte aut dives aut scholasticus de foro aut ex administratore episcopus fuerit postulatus, ut non prius ordinetur, nisi ante et lectores munere et officio diaconi aut presbyteri fuerit perfunctus, et ita per singulos gradus, si dignus fuerit, ascendat ad culmen episcopatus.... Nec ratio vel disciplina patitur, ut temere et leviter ordinetur aut episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus, qui neophytus est,...sed hi, quorum per longum tempus examinata sit vita et merita fuerint comprobata. Universi dixerunt, placere sibi hæc.

[3] Not, for instance, in the already mentioned election of Ambrose.

[4] For the beautiful old prayer of consecration, see *Constitutt. Apostol.* VIII. 5. (Also in Rheinwald, *Archäologie*, s. 413 f.).

[5] Before the latter more extensive privilege of the metropolitans.

[6] For the passage from Cyprian, see p. 37. The Nicene council established as a rule for the validity of a bishop's election, that the object of their choice should be consecrated by all, or in case of necessity, by at least three of the bishops of his province:—(Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξάπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, κ. τ. λ.). The minimum of three episcopal consecrators is also required by the 20th canon of the synod of Arles, 314 A.D. (De iis, qui usurpant sibi, quod soli debeant episcopus ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat nisi assumptis secum aliis septem episcopis. Si tamen non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare.)

elect[1], &c. After the close of the rite of consecration the new bishop delivered his inaugural sermon (λόγος ἐνθρονιτικός. See *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 4).

As president of the principal church of the city, the bishop was invested pre-eminently with the oversight of the church and the duty of teaching; the latter embracing not only the public preaching, but also the cure of souls specially—a duty which the life of Augustin practically exhibited, while the theory of it is set forth by St Chrysostom, in his treatise *de Sacerdotio*, iii. 17[2]. These duties, however, on the whole and universally do not appear to have been the exclusive prerogatives of the bishop. The functions which exclusively pertained to the bishop[3] were, besides the right of voting in synods and councils, first of all the right of ordaining to the ministry—in which office St Jerome (*Epist. ad Evangelum*, cxlvi.[4], and Chrysostom, *Homil.* ii. *in* 1 *Tim.*[5]) places the sole distinctive and essential prerogative of the bishops over the presbyters; and secondly, that of confirmation (for the Western Church, see St Jerome, *Dial. adv. Luciferianos*), and, as connected therewith, the consecration of the baptismal oil (St Jerome, *ibid.* c. vi., and Innocentius I. [bishop of Rome, A.D. 402—417], *Epist. ad Decentium*, c. iii.[6]); as also subsequently it became

[1] On this point, ut Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant, is the decision of the *Statuta Ecclesiæ antiqua*, as they are styled in some ancient manuscripts, but which are commonly quoted as the canons of a council held at Carthage A.D. 398, under the presidency of bishop Aurelius, assisted by St Augustin. In all probability, however, they are a collection of ancient decisions of the church, made as occasions called for them, and in different parts of the church. Cf. Spittler, *Geschichte d. Canonischen Rechts*, s. 115.

[2] Ambrosius, *De Officiis cet.* i. 1, also unhesitatingly declares: Episcopi proprium munus docere populum.

[3] And moreover, all recognised as such by the end of the 4th Century; with perhaps the exception of the two last mentioned, which probably were somewhat later.

[4] Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?

[5] Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασιν (the Bishops), καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

[6] Presbyteris (orders Innocent) seu extra episcopum seu præsente episcopo cum baptizant, chrismate baptizatos augere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum.

the rule for the bishops when present to consecrate the elements in the Lord's Supper[1]; and lastly, it belonged to the bishop to grant absolution, and to consecrate churches. The rural churches, too, in every diocese were subject to the oversight of the bishop (§ 10), as also were the religious houses (*Concil. Chalced. ec.* can. 4[2], and *Concil. Aurelianense*, A.D. 511, can. 19[3])—from which the monastery of the island Lerins forms the first and earliest exception[4]—till at last in the 9th and 10th Centuries throughout the Western Church they were withdrawn from the episcopal oversight to be placed under the immediate control of the pope. One part of the bishop's duties, and in truth very often a most burdensome one (cf. Augustin, *Sermo* xxiv. *in Ps.* xlviii.[5]), consisted in the decision of all disputes among the brethren (*Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 45[6]); and even at so

[1] On Baptism, Confirmation and the Lord's Supper, see below, § 31, 32.

[2] Ἔδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου· τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ....Τὸν μέντοι ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως χρὴ τὴν δέουσαν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μοναστηρίων.

[3] Abbates pro humilitate religionis in episcoporum potestate consistant, et si quid extra regulam fecerint ab episcopis corrigantur; qui semel in anno in loco, ubi episcopus elegerit, accepta vocatione conveniant.

[4] The *Concilium Arelatense* III. (A.D. 456) ordered in the case of the monastery of Lerins, that in all clerical matters it should as usual be subject to the bishop of the diocese, but in all lay matters to the abbot exclusively. (Ut clerici atque altaris ministri a nullo, nisi ab episcopo, vel cui ipse injunxerit, ordinentur, chrisma non nisi ab ipso speretur, neophyti, si fuerint, ac eodem confirmentur, peregrini clerici absque ipsius præcepto in communionem vel ad ministerium non admittantur. Monasterii vero omnis laica multitudo ad curam abbatis pertineat, neque ex ea sibi episcopus quidquam vindicet, aut aliquem ex illa clericum, nisi abbate petente, præsumat. Hoc enim et rationis et religionis plenum est, ut clerici ad ordinationem episcopi debita subjectione respiciant; laica vero omnis monasterii congregatio ad solam ac liberam abbatis proprii, quem sibi ipsa elegerit, ordinationem dispositionemque pertineat; regula, quæ a fundatore ipsius monasterii dudum constituta est, in omnibus custodita.)

[5] On this head he complains of the great loss of time and other inconveniences which were entailed by such duties, as involving the bishop, if not actually in lawsuits, yet most unnecessarily in secular business.

[6] On authority of the passage, 1 Cor. vi. 1, sq. the *Const. Ap.* command μὴ ἐρχέσθω (Χριστιανὸς) ἐπὶ κριτήριον ἐθνικόν, and then they point out the advantages of the bishop's personal jurisdiction: ὡς

early a date as the reign of Constantine the Great, the sentence of the bishop was declared to be legally binding (Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 9[1], compared with *Codex Justin.* i. 4. 8[2]). Moreover, a sort of oversight over the functionaries of the state was in certain matters conceded to the bishop, who was empowered to see that in the prisons justice was tempered with humanity (*Codex Theodos.* ix. 3. 7[3], and *Codex Justinian.* i. 4. 22[4]); and that widows and orphans were not wronged (Augustin. *Sermo* CLXXVI.[5], and Ambros. *de Officiis Ministrorum*, i. 29[6], &c.); and, as arising therefrom, they enjoyed the right of interceding with the civil powers in behalf of the unfortunate and miserable (*Concil. Sardic.* can. 8[7]). The latter right, as it originally grew out of custom, was clearly very liable to be abused[8].

μὴ ἐχόντων ἡμῶν ἕνα σοφὸν, τὸν δυνάμενον μεταξὺ βραβεῦσαι τὸ δίκαιον, ἢ τὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλῦσαι.

[1] Τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψε (Constantinus) τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἣν βούλωνται τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἄρχοντας παραιτεῖσθαι· κυρίαν δὲ εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν ψῆφον καὶ κρείττω τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν, ὡσανεὶ παρὰ τοῦ Βασιλέως ἐξενεχθεῖσαν.

[2] Episcopale judicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegerint, eamque illorum judicationi adhibendam esse reverentiam jubemus, quam vestris deferri necesse est potestatibus, a quibus non licet provocare.

[3] Judices omnibus dominicis diebus productos reos e custodia carcerali videant, interrogent, ne his humanitas clausis per corruptos carcerum custodes denegetur cet.

[4] What the *Codex Theodosian.* &c., orders with regard to the bishops visiting the prisons every week, is still more precisely enjoined by the *Cod. Justin.* l. c.: Episcopos jubemus per unam cujusque hebdomadæ diem...eos, qui in custodia habentur, visitare, et diligenter inquirere causam, ob quam detinentur cet., ... clarissimos magistratus admonere, ... ut ea exequantur circa ipsos, quæ divalis nostra constitutio...præcipit, licentia data episcopis, si quam negligentiam admissam cognoverint ab illustrissimis magistratibus vel iis, quæ illis parent officiis, talem ipsorum negligentiam indicandi cet.

[5] Pro magno commendantur episcopis patrimonia pupillorum.

[6] Egregie vestrum—thus St Ambrose speaks to his clergy—enitescit ministerium, si suscepta impressio potentis, quam vel vidua vel orphani tolerare non queant, ecclesiæ subsidio cohibeatur, si ostendatis, plus apud vos mandatum Domini, quam divitis valere gratiam.

[7] Honestum est, ut episcopi intercessionem his præstent, qui iniqua vi opprimuntur, aut si vidua affligatur, aut pupillus exspolietur; si tamen isthæc nomina justam habeant causam aut petitionem.

[8] Cf. Neander, *Kirchengesch.* II. 328 f.

Still more extensive, as we might naturally expect, were the official duties of the bishops of the principal cities—the metropolitans and patriarchs[1], who had at once to maintain the oversight of the clergy of the whole province, to ordain the suffragan bishops, and to preside over and to regulate the provincial and diocesan synods (§ 17. 2), and to publish and to enforce the laws of the church (Justinian, *Novell.* vi. *Epil.*[2]), and so on.

To compensate for these extensive duties the bishops had, however, many external distinctions and advantages. As from the 4th Century, and probably still earlier, the priests generally during the celebration of divine worship[3] were distinguished from the rest of the worshippers by a peculiar dress[4], so (besides the dress which a bishop wore in common with a priest, and another which in the West was worn by deacons as well as by priests and bishops, cf. p. 44, n. 1) the bishop wore a peculiar woollen garment, the *ὠμοφόριον*[5]—called by St Chrysostom also *πολυσταύριον*, which, corresponding to the *pallium* of the Western Church, first makes its appearance in the 6th Century[6];

[1] For the date of their first historical appearance, see my *Handb. der K. G.* § 31. 71, and still more fully in Böhmer, *Die Christlich. Kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft.* Bd. I. s. 191—210.

[2] Οἱ μὲν οὖν πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης ταῦτα προθήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλησίαις, ὅῆλα δὲ ποιήσουσι τοῖς μητροπολίταις τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν διατεταγμένα· οἱ δὲ αὖθις καὶ αὐτοὶ προθήσουσί τε αὐτὰ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισκόποις φανερὰ ταῦτα καταστήσουσιν.

[3] Cf. A. Saussæi *Panoplia Sacerdotalis, seu* lib. XIV. *de ven. sacerdotum habitu.* Par. 1653 f.; J. du Tour, *De origine, antiquitate et sanctitate Vestium Sacerdotalium.* Par. 1662. 4; A. Ritter, *De Vestibus Sacris.* Lips. 1703.

[4] It cannot however be proved to demonstration that originally their distinctive dress was *black*; on the contrary, many authorities are in favour of its having been white. Black, on the contrary, was worn in the East only during Passion-week and at funerals, while in the West it was chiefly the dress of the monkish orders. See C. Pätsch, *De candido Veterum Clericorum Vestitu.* Viteb. 1685; and J. C. Krause, *De Colore Sacro.* Viteb. 1707.

[5] Isidorus of Pelusium (about the beginning of the 5th Century) sees here an allusion to the lost sheep found and brought home by the Good Shepherd (*Epist.* lib. I. ep. 136): Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὠμοφόριον ἐξ ἐρέας ὄν, ἀλλ' οὐ λίνου, τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν σημαίνει, ὅπερ πλανηθὲν ζητήσας ὁ Κύριος ἀνέλαβεν.—Comp. J. A. Schmid, *De Omophorio.* Helmst. 1698.

[6] This western *Pallium* became, in later times, the mark by which the popes conferred the dignity of Metropolitan. Cf. J. G. Pertsch, *De origine, usu, cet. Pallii Archiepisc.* 1754. | Of the origin of the Pallium and its use, see Abp. de Marca *de Concordia*, vi.

while as early as about the middle of the 7th Century (*Concil. Tolet.* can. 28[1], A.D. 633) we find mention of the staff and ring (*baculus* and *annulus*[2]) as insignia of the episcopal office. From the very first the several Churches had felt themselves bound in duty to provide a maintenance for their clergy; after the 4th Century, however, when Christianity had become the religion of the state, the revenues of the clergy were considerably augmented. The taking of money for the administration of the sacraments was now forbidden by Gelasius of Rome (A.D. 492), *epist.* ix. *ad Episc. Lucaniæ*, § 5, and moreover also by can. 23[3] of the *Concilium Trullanum* (692 A.D.). Of the whole clerical revenues the bishop naturally received a part proportioned to his rank and dignity[4]. For instance, Gelasius I., referring to still older regulations, determined with regard to the application of the whole ecclesiastical revenues (*Epist.* ix. § 27), that one quarter should be assigned to the bishop, the second to the clergy, the third for the poor, and that the fourth should be expended on the maintenance of the fabric of the churches[5], &c.; whereas the seventh of

c. 6; and Du Pin *de Antiq. Eccles. Discipl.* i. § 12, quoted by Wordsworth, *Theoph. Anglic.* p. 177.]

[1] It is herein expressly ordered that wrongly deposed bishops, priests, and deacons, should on their restoration receive back their proper *insignia*, ut si episcopus fuerit, recipiat coram altario de manu episcoporum orarium (a dress in the West common to all the three orders; s. § 13), annulum et baculum; si presbyter, orarium et planetam (s. § 12); si diaconus, orarium et albam; si subdiaconus, patenam et calicem (§ 14).

[2] Since the 10th century the *mitra* or *infula* was one of the *insignia* of the bishops in the West (although the abbots—*infulati*—probably also wore this ensign; Cf. A. Steger *De Infulis*. Lips. 1739), and so also the Cross.

[3] Gelasius orders in the case of baptizing and confirming, that Baptizandis consignandisque fidelibus sacerdotes pretia nulla præfigant, nec illationibus quibuslibet impositis exagitare cupiant renascentes, quoniam quod gratis accepimus, gratis dare mandamur; und das *Conc. Trull.* allgemeiner: Περὶ τοῦ μηδένα εἴτε ἐπίσκοπον εἴτε πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον τῆς ἀχράντου μεταδιδόντα κοινωνίας παρὰ τοῦ μετέχοντος εἰσπράττειν τῆς τοιαύτης μεταλήψεως χάριν ὀβολοὺς ἢ εἶδος τὸ οἰονοῦν.

[4] 1 Cor. ix. 11, 13: Εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα, εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;...Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν; οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται;

[5] Quatuor tam de reditu, quam de oblatione fidelium, prout cujuslibet ecclesiæ facultas admittit, sicut dudum rationabiliter est decretum, convenit fieri portiones. Quarum sit una pontificis, altera clericorum, pauperum tertia, quarta fabricis applicanda.

the non-dogmatical canons of the *Concil. Bracarense* I. (A.D. 563), assigns as much even as a third portion to the bishop[1]. In later times the bishop's income was derived principally from real estates which were exempt from all control of the state. These varied in amount with the wealth of the several churches, and the ecclesiastical relations of the respective districts, and were held on every variety of tenure, from mere ownership up to undisputed sovereignty.

The Evangelical or Lutheran Church, which set out with the [assumption of the] Apostolical identity of the Episcopate and Presbyterate, and therefore saw (A) a bishop in every pastor, adhered only so far to that superiority of rank which the ancient Church had assigned to the episcopal office, as to invest some of the more eminent of the clergy with a portion of the episcopal office, and also with the name; whereas the Anglican Church on this point is almost identical with the Roman Catholic, while the Reformed or Genevan has here as elsewhere done violence to this evangelical relic of the order of the ancient Church[2].

The property of the Church, over which, as well as all other matters of his diocese, the bishop naturally had the supreme and ultimate management (*Concil. Antioch.* can. 24, A.D. 341[3]), was occasionally in the 4th Century entrusted to a special ecclesiastical officer (in orders) under the title of οἰκονόμος (Basilius M. *Epist.* ccxxxvii. ccLxxxv.[4]). This office, which, however, was still under the control of the bishop, was by the 26th canon of the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon[5] (A.D. 421), made the rule for all episcopal churches. And if in some cases this law was inoperative, still even in these instances the church-property was only indirectly administered by the bishop by the means of certain clerical officers, who were either priests or

[1] Placuit, ut ex rebus ecclesiasticis tres æquæ fiant portiones, id est una episcopi, alia clericorum, tertia in recuperationem vel in luminaria ecclesiæ.

[2] Cf. § 9, conclusion.

[3] Τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας—it is here said generally of the bishop,—τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καλῶς ἔχειν, φυλάττεσθαι δεῖν κ.τ.λ.

[4] The first passage speaks of οἰκονόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας; the οἰκονόμος in the latter is explained to be, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φροντίζων καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τῶν κτήσεων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.

[5] Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισὶν ἐκκλησίαις ...ἔδοξε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπισκόπου ἔχουσαν καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου.

deacons[1]. On the same principle, with a view to the right management of matters which might arise out of the church-property, and especially with a view to the rights of the poor[2], special *defensores*[3], ἔκδικοι, called also προστάται τῆς ἐκκλησίας[4], were appointed (see *Concil. Carthag.* can. 10, A.D. 401[5]; Possidius in his *Vita Augustini*, c. xii.[6]; and the ratification of their institution in the *Codex Theodos.* xvi. 2. 38[7]). Connected with this office of the defensores is that of the ἀποκρισιάριοι[8]—of whom frequent mention occurs in the 5th and 6th Centuries. These were officers at the court of the Greek emperors who managed the ecclesiastical interests of *all* the principal foreign bishops—and not merely of the Roman[9], though it is true, pre-eminently of that bishop—and also of the principal monasteries[10]. Justinian, *Novell.* vi. § 2.

[1] The *Concil. Bracarense* I. appends to the passage quoted p. 45, n. 1, the following remark with regard to church-property: De qua parte sive archipresbyter sive archidiaconus illam administrans episcopo faciat rationem.

[2] After that the office of such (ἔκδικοι) had been previously joined to the presbyterate, and even the diaconate, as we also find it subsequently associated with the presbyterate, *Concil. Chalced.* Act. I.; with the diaconate, *Theodorus Lector. Fragm. Vales.* p. 533.

[3] An expression which indeed in the Roman Church designated in a Roman sense merely the defenders of the rights and property of the Roman Church. So *e.g.* in Gregor. M. *Epist.* ix. 18: Quid te Romanum defensorem fidelem sollicitumque probavimus exstitisse, patrimonium sanctæ Romanæ, cui Deo miserante deservimus, ecclesiæ...gubernationi tuæ prævidimus committendum; Cf. Greg. *Ep.* vi. 5, 11, (where as equivalent with *defensores* stands the expression *rectores patrimonii*).

[4] This name occurs in Epiphanius, *Hær.* 72.

[5] Ab imperatoribus universis visum est postulandum, propter afflictionem pauperum, quorum molestiis sine intermissione fatigatur ecclesia, ut defensores eis adversus potentias divitum cum episcoporum provisione delegentur.

[6] *Defensor Ecclesiæ*, is the name given here to this important functionary.

[7] It is here ordered that in matters relating purely to the Church and its officers, the defensores, who are here styled *advocati*, eorum arbitratu et judicibus innotescant et sortiantur effectum.

[8] Cf. A. Grenz, *De Apocrisiariis*, 1748.

[9] An Apocrisiarius of the Alexandrian bishop occurs in *Liberatus Breviar. causæ Nestor. et Eutych.* c. 16, & c. 12, and also c. 23, of a Roman, an Antiochene, and an Hierosolymitan; bei Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 38; and also one of the bishop of the little diocese of Amasa.

[10] Thus too *Concil. Œcumen.* v. Act. 1, a πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀποκρισιάριος τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ is mentioned.

Sect. XII.—PRESBYTERS.

(a) Although the administration of the sacraments, the regulation of the affairs of the congregation, and the cure of souls, belonged by the nature of their priestly office to the presbyters[1], still for the discharge of these duties the sanction of the bishop, as being his deputies therein, was required as early as at least the beginning of the 3rd Century (see Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. xvii.[2]; so, too, according to Chrysostom, *Homil.* iii. *in* 1 *Cor.*[3], and the special case of Augustin during his presbyterate, mentioned in Possidius, *Vita Aug.* c. i. § 4[4], though this was not universally the case[5]). It was only in the later Centuries that the administration of the sacraments (though by no means the whole of it) and preaching[6] came to be regarded as the independent duty of the presbyter. From the 4th Century downwards the presbyters or priests were chosen and ordained by the bishops of each church[7], and it is highly probable

[1] That all this belonged to them as of right is clear from the contents of a prayer in the ancient Ordinal for Priests. *Constitut. Apost.* VIII. 16.

[2] Dandi quidem (baptismum) habet jus episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate. And the same statement is made almost in the same words by Hieronymus, *adv. Luciferianos*, Opp. t. II.: Inde venit, ut sine jussione episcopi neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.

[3] St Chrysostom here acknowledges that he authorizes the priests according to their several capacities to preach or to baptize: Καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀφιλεστέροις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦτο (τὸ βάπτισμα) ἐγχειρίζομεν, τὸν δὲ διδασκαλικὸν λόγον τοῖς σοφωτέροις. That he himself had preached when priest he tells us himself, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 2, and is indeed notorious.

[4] In North Africa it was not the custom for a priest to preach in presence of the bishop. St Augustin however did so occasionally, and from his time it became more common. Eidem (Augustino)—we are informed by Possidius—presbytero potestatem dedit (episcopus), coram se in ecclesia evangelium prædicandi ac frequentissime tractandi contra usum quidem ac consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum... Postea bono præcedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopis populo tractare cœperunt verbum Dei.

[5] St Jerome, *ep. 52 ad Nepotian.*, speaks of it as a pessima consuetudo in quibusdam ecclesiis, that the presbyters there did not preach.

[6] Vgl. *Concilium Vacense*, II. a. 529, can. 2 (see below, § 13).

[7] For the ordination of a presbyter or priest by the bishop with the assistance of the other presbyters, it is ordered by *Statuta Ecclesiæ antiqua* (*Conc. Carth.* a. 398) c. 3: Presbyter cum ordina-

that this had been the practice from a far earlier date. (Clemens Roman. *Ep.* i. *ad Corinth.* c. xliv.[1], compared with *Canones Apostol.* ii.) The 4th Century saw also the origin of the office of protopresbyter—or as he was more generally styled, *archipresbyter*, who probably on the ground of age was the head of the college of presbyters (cf. Leo M. *Epist.* lxxv.[2]), and had a certain sphere of official duties (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 9, compared with Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 12[3]). For his office, see the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, c. xvii.[4]

The priest's official dress was a robe termed *planeta* (*Concil. Toletan.* iv. can. 28, A.D. 633[5]), or φελόνης, φαιλόνης, casula[6].

In the 4th and the beginning of the 5th Century we find in Northern Africa traces of certain ecclesiastical persons under the name of *seniores plebis* (Augustin, *Epist.* lxxviii. *contra Cresconium*, iii. 29. 62, and *Enarratio in Psalm.* xxxvi. *Sermo* ii. § 20[7]), and even earlier in Optatus

tur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente etiam omnes presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant (see the beautiful prayer in the Ordinal, *Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 16, and in Rheinwald, *Archäol.* s. 414 f.) That however even in the fourth Century the choice was not made without, is clear from *Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 16, where the ordaining bishop speaks of the priest who was to be ordained as τῷ ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει τοῦ κλήρου παντὸς εἰς πρεσβυτέριον ἐπιδοθέντα, and from Siricius, *Epist.* i. *ad Himer.* c. 10, where he speaks of presbyterium vel episcopatus si eum cleri ac plebis vocaverit electio; although before this the *Canones Apostolici*, can. 2, simply order: Πρεσβύτερος ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω.

[1] See above, p. 28, n. 3.

[2] There is mention here of a presbyterii ordo, which the unius festina et immatura provectio disturbs.

[3] The same Peter that Socrates (ibid.) speaks of as the πρωτοπρεσβύτερος of the Alexandrian church, is called by Sozomen (ibid.) ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος.

[4] Ut episcopus gubernationem viduarum et pupillorum et peregrinorum non per se ipsum, sed per archipresbyterum aut per archidiaconum agat.

[5] For the passage, see above, p. 44, n. 1. The name *planeta* is moreover of difficult and uncertain derivation. Cf. Böhmer, *Christliche kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft.* Bd. I. s. 243 f. who indeed takes *planeta* to be a corruption of *pænula*.

[6] Planeta—says Isidorus Hispal. *Origines*, xix. 24—Græce et Latine dicitur casula, quæ totum hominis corpus tegit.

[7] All these passages of St Augustin, which by the way speak only of seniores or seniores ecclesiæ, and not seniores plebis, are accurately quoted, and examined by Rothe, *Die Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche.* s. 236 ff.

Milev. *de Schismate Donatistarum*, pp. 168, 169[1]. A disposition has been evinced to see in these personages a relic of the ruling and non-teaching presbyters, whom some have supposed to have existed in the Apostles' times. The existence of the latter, however, is a purely arbitrary fiction (see above, § 8, p. 25). On the other hand, it is an undoubted fact that these later *seniores plebis* did exist. Still they were not a sort of clerical presbyters, for in all these and similar passages they are expressly distinguished from the clergy[2], and as little were they a sort of mixed characters between clergy and laity; for the supposition of any such functionaries is absolutely unwarranted by ecclesiastical analogy, and the predicate of *ecclesiastici viri*, which occurs in one of the passages of Optatus[3], does not by any means establish the existence of any such official characters. They were rather a species of lay presidents of the different churches which had sprung up amidst the Donatistic troubles of the North African Church. That this was really the case has been satisfactorily proved by Rothe, *Die Anfänge der Kirche*, s. 234, by an induction of all the passages from the Fathers which bear upon the subject.

Among Protestants, the Lutheran Church holds in little repute the presbyterate separated and detached from the ancient episcopate, since she maintains the undoubted certainty of the Apostolical identity of the presbyterate and episcopate; but at the same time, in due regard to every existing ordinance of the Church, she does not refuse to pay honour

[1] These passages also, where indeed there does occur the name of *Seniores plebis*, may be found in Rothe, *ibid.* p. 234 ff.

[2] Optatus, l. l. p. 168, Omnes vos, episcopi, presbyteri, diaconos, seniores, scitis cet., leaves the matter undecided. Clearly decisive of the point, however, is p. 169, Adhibete conclericos et seniores plebis, ecclesiasticos viros cet.; also, Purpurius episcopus clericis et senioribus Cirtensium Sal. cet.; and also, Fratribus et filiis, clericis et senioribus Fortis (episcopus) S.; not less distinctly also, Augustinus *contra Cresconium*, III. 62, p. 317 (Opp. t. IX.), Quo die clerici et seniores cet.; and a little before, Presbyter et seniores: *Enarr. in Ps.* 36, Sermo II. § 20, p. 208 (Opp. t. IV.), obsistente maxima parte plebis, etiam seniorum nobilissimorum literis cet.; and epist. 78, p. 137 (t. II. Opp.), Dilectissimis fratribus, clero, senioribus et universæ plebi ecclesiæ Hipponensis cet.

[3] p. 169; see above, note 2.

to episcopacy in the stricter sense, whether it be represented by individuals, or by a consistory or college of presbyters. It is only the Reformed or Calvinistic Church that holds an exclusive presbyterate. They both isolate it on the whole from all other orders, and in many points take a very partial and one-sided view of it, maintaining, on the authority of Calvin's example, the existence in the Apostles' times of two orders of prebyters, and modelling their ecclesiastical system in accordance with this view.

Sect. XIII.—DEACONS (AND DEACONESSES[1]).

The third and lowest degree of the *ordines majores* was that of the deacons (*diaconi* and also *diaconæ*). Their original institution is narrated in the 6th chapter of the Acts. Being looked out from among the believers by their brethren, they were appointed by the Apostles (ver. 4) to be *episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministri*, as St Cyprian expresses it (*Epist.* LXV.), with especial view to the care of and ministering to the poor.

No doubt, both in ancient and modern times the identity of the later diaconate with that of the first seven deacons of the Acts, and generally with those of the New Testament (Philipp. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12), has been questioned; its derivation, nevertheless, though with a larger sphere of duties, from the earlier form is testified by several passages of the fathers (*e.g.* Origenes, *Comm. in Matth.* T. xvi. Opp. Vol. iii. ed. Ru. p. 753[2], Cyprian, *Epist.* XLIX. LV.[3], Dionys. Alexandr. in Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11, and Hieronym. *Epistol. ad Evangelum*[4]; also *Constitutt. Apostol.* iii. 19[5]);

[1] Cf. C. Ziegler, *De Diaconis et Diaconissis Veteris Eccl.* Viteb. 1678.

[2] In so far as, according to Origen, it is still the deacons who in his time διοικοῦντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα.

[3] In so far also as, ep. 49, he says of an unworthy deacon: diaconio sanctæ administrationis omisso, ecclesiasticis pecuniis sacrilega fraude subtractis, et viduarum ac pupillorum depositis denegatis; and ep. 55, the deacon Felicissimus is spoken of by him as pecuniæ commissæ sibi fraudator.

[4] By St Jerome the deacon is spoken of in this passage merely as mensarum et viduarum minister.

[5] The deacon is τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὑπηρετεῖσθαι. Χρὴ οὖν ὑμᾶς τοὺς διακόνους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι πάντας τοὺς δεομένους ἐπισκέψεως, καὶ

not to insist upon the fact, that the number of seven deacons, which was for a long time pretty generally maintained in the Church, necessarily carries us back to the first seven in Jerusalem.

Very early, however, the diaconate was charged with many functions of a more priestly character, the deacons being required in many particulars to assist the presbyters and the bishop. Thus in the public worship of the Church it was their duty to prepare for the Holy Communion, and in the distribution of the elements they delivered the cup to the communicants (Justin M. *Apol.* I. c. LXV.[1], and Cyprian, *de Lapsis*[2]; cf. *Constitut. Apost.* viii. 13[3]). They were never, however, permitted to consecrate the elements (*Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 28. *Concil. Arelat.* c. 15 (A.D. 314[4]), and *Concil. Nicen.* can. 18[5], *Concil. Ancyran.* c. 2 (A.D. 314[6]), &c.)[7]. Another duty of the diaconate was, after the Communion in the church was finished, to carry the blessed body and blood of Christ to those who were sick or in prison (Justin Martyr, *ibid.*[8]). They might also baptize when authorized by the bishop or the priest (Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. xvii., see above, § 12, p. 47, n. 2, and the Council of Elvira, c. 77. p. 52, n. 3). Moreover, all ordinary

περὶ τῶν θλιβομένων ἀναγγέλλετε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν.

[1] From the words of Justin, Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος...οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν—it would appear that in his time the deacons distributed the bread as well as the wine. According, however, to the later authorities which I shall presently adduce, the administering the cup was especially their duty. According to the *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* (*Concil. Carthag.* IV. a. 398), can. 38 (Diaconus præsente presbytero eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget), it was only in certain special cases that the deacons might distribute the bread.

[2] Solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre (*i.e.* to distribute) præsentibus cœpit.

[3] Ὁ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς λεγέτω κ.τ.λ. (the distribution of the bread by the priest had been previously mentioned).

[4] Ut diacones non offerant [*offerre*, when spoken absolutely of clergy is equivalent to consecrate]. De diaconibus, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere.

[5] Here too the deacons are spoken of as οἱ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντες προσφέρειν.

[6] Πεπαῦσθαι διακόνους πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν.

[7] See also Hieronym. ep. 146 (below, p. 55, n. 4.)

[8] Καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι, Justin continues in reference to the deacons; *ibid.*, see note 1.

matters concerning the several churches were usually entrusted to their management (Cyprian, *Epist.* x. *ad Martyr. et Confess.*[1]) In short, they had a general oversight of them (*Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 44[2]). In consequence their authority became sometimes very great, especially in Northern Africa and Spain (cf. *Concil. Eliberitanum*, can. 77, A.D. 305[3]). Besides these duties, which were of a sacerdotal and liturgical nature, they were also in later times entrusted with several others more closely corresponding with the original character of the diaconate; for instance, the maintenance of due order in the church (*Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 57[4]), the announcing (κηρύττειν *prædicare*) of the different parts of the public service[5], the public bidding of the prayers of the congregation[6], the reading of the gospels (*Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 57[7], Hieronym. *Epist.* cxlvii. (*al.* xciii.) *ad Sabinianum*[8], *Concilium Vasense* (of *Vaison*) xi. can. 2, A.D. 529[9]); while to read the Old Testament was looked upon as the duty of the readers (according to Isidorus Hispalensis, *Epist. ad Leudefr.*[10])

[1] Cyprian speaks in this passage especially of the care of the deacons for the confessors and martyrs (Credideram presbyteros et diaconos ... monere vos et instruere plenissime circa evangelii legem, sicut in præteritum semper sub antecessoribus nostris factum est, ut diaconi ad carcerem commeantes martyrum desideria consiliis suis et scripturarum præceptis gubernarent), as afterwards (*Epist.* 20) he speaks of this official duty as the ministerium floridiorum.

[2] This supervision also extended, in case of the absence of a priest, to the ordines minores. (*Const. Apost.* viii. 28: Διάκονος ἀφορίζει ὑποδιάκονον, ἀναγνώστην, ψάλτην, διοκονίσσαν, ἐὰν ᾖ τι τοιοῦτον, μὴ παρόντος πρεσβυτέρου.)

[3] Here there is mention of a diaconus regens plebem (at the same time, however, it is spoken of as an irregularity in such a higher deacon, si quis diaconus regens plebem sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit).

[4] Εἰ δέ τις εὑρεθῇ παρὰ τόπον καθεζόμενος, ἐπιπλησσέσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου ... Διάκονος ἐπισκοπείτω τὸν λαὸν, ὅπως μήτις ψιθυρίσῃ ἢ νυστάζῃ ἢ νεύσῃ, κ.τ.λ.

[5] See below, Part 2nd, the section on Church Services, especially with regard to the Liturgy or Communion Service (§ 32, 4).

[6] See preceding note; cf. also § 30, 3.

[7] Μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια. According to this passage, therefore, the public reading of the Gospels was also an office which the priests shared with the deacons.

[8] Evangelium Christi quasi diaconus lectitabam.

[9] Si digni sunt diacones, quod Christus in evangelio locutus est, legere cet. (cf. note 7.)

[10] Sicut Lectoribus Vetus Tes-

The deacons also read out the names of such as had made oblations at the Holy Communion (Hieronym. *Comm. in Ezechiel.* c. xviii.[1]), and the like. Moreover we also find deacons preaching (as indeed they did even in the Apostles' times), especially in the Eastern Church. An instance of this kind is adduced by Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 17[2]), while the practice is moreover attested by the still extant homilies of Ephraem Syrus, deacon of Edessa[3]. There can be little doubt, however, that this was an exception from the general rule; for in the Western Church it was expressly ordered by the second council of Vaison that in all cases where the priest was prevented from preaching, the deacon should read some homily of the old Fathers of the Church[4].

The choice of the deacons pertained to the bishop, who, as we see from St Cyprian, ordained them with imposition of hands[5] (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXV.[6]). Without doubt such was the practice still earlier[7]; though, as was the case still later, in presence of other clergy of the higher orders[8]. The canonical age for deacons was 25 (Justi-

tamentum, ita Diaconibus Novum prædicare præceptum est.—However, the lectores were by no means excluded from the reading of the Gospels. In North Africa, Cyprian (*Epist.* 34) says of a reader Celerinus: legat præcepta et evangelia Domini; and he expressly assigns to the office of the lector the duty of reading lessons out of the New as well as out of the Old Testament. Cypr. *Epist.* 33. On this point, see below, § 14, where the Reader's office is treated of.

[1] Publiceque diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina. On the subject of collecting the offering at the Communion, see below, § 32, 3.

[2] Leontius, bishop of Antioch, had made Aetius deacon, καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτρέπει δόγματα.

[3] Whether the archdeacon preached will be considered below.

[4] Placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, ita ut si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur; si enim digni sunt diacones, quod Christus in evangelio locutus est legere, quare indigni judicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?

[5] See the beautiful prayer of consecration, *Constitutt. Apostol.* VIII. 18. (Also in Rheinwald, *Archäol.* s. 415.)

[6] Diaconi ab episcopis fiunt.

[7] Cf. Clemens Rom. *Ep.* 1 *ad Corr.* c. 44 (above, p. 28) with *Canones Apostol.* 2 (πρεσβύτερος ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω καὶ διάκονος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί).

[8] Thus also *Concil. Carthagin.* IV. a. 398 (*Statuta Eccl. Antiqua*), can. 4: Diaconus, cum

nian. *Novell.* xxiii. 13[1], compared with *Concil. Tolet.* iv. c. 20. A.D. 633[2]), although this rule was not invariably observed[3].

Long after the Apostles' times, however, it was usual in most of the larger churches to appoint seven deacons, in agreement with the original number of their institution. This was the case in the 3rd Century at Rome, according to the letter of its bishop Cornelius (in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43[4]), though at the same time there were as many as 46 presbyters—and the council of Neo-Cæsarea (A.D. 315), can. 15, orders expressly that this number should be maintained in every church, on the ground that it was enjoined by the history of their institution in the Acts[5]—a number in whose smallness St Jerome sees a mark of the dignity of the office (*Epist.* cxxii. *ad Evangelum*[6]). On the other hand, in the 6th Century we observe as many as 100 deacons in the church of Constantinople[7].

The official dress of the deacons was a white gown (Chrysostom, *Homil.* xxxiii. *in Matth.*[8]). It was called tunica alba[9], and over it was worn the orarium *stolæ*[10].

ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur: and yet according to *Constitut. Apostol.* VIII. 18, both presbyters and deacons assisted at the consecration.

[1] Justinian here forbids διάκονον ἡττονα τῶν ἐτῶν πέντε (ἐπιτάττει).

[2] A virgini et quinque annis ætatis Levita consecretur. (Of "Levitis" however it is remarked by Isidorus Hispal. II. 12: Hi grave diaconi, latine ministri dicebantur.)

[3] Epiphanius therefore was admitted to the diaconate when only twenty, and Bede when only nineteen years of age.

[4] In the enumeration of the clergy of his church, he numbers up πρεσβυτέρους, τεσσαράκοντα ἓξ, διακόνους ἑπτά.—Cf. D. G. Moller, *Diss. de septem diaconis Ecclesiæ Romanæ.* Altd. 1696.

[5] Διάκονοι ἑπτὰ ὑφιστάσθωσαν εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα, κἂν πάνυ μεγάλη εἰη ἡ πόλις· πεισθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν πράξεων.

[6] Diaconos pauculos humilibus facit.

[7] He commands that there should not be more than seven sixty presbyters (κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν) διακόνους δὲ ἑπτὰ μόνους ἐκτάττει.

[8] Λειτουργὸν χιτωνίσκου καὶ ἀποστολάριον περιβαλλόμενον.

[9] Tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis alba utatur, is ordered by the *Concil. Carthag.* IV. p. 398, can. 51; nec diaconus, antequam missa consummetur, alba se præsumat exuere. *Concil. Narbonens.* a. 589, can. 12.

[10] Ἐπωμίδιον, and not, as is supposed by Balsamon, *ad Conc. Laodic.* c. 22, ἐλαφρὸν ἱμάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου (ἐπιτίθεται, ἐπιτιθεμένου).

In the Eastern Church the latter was peculiar to the deacons (Balsamon, *Concil. Laodic.* can. 22), whereas in the West it was also worn by bishops and priests (*Concil. Toletanum* iv. can. 28[1], A.D. 633).

In not a few places it became customary for the deacons to be the especial confidents and officers of the bishop, so that they are described by the *Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 44, as the eye, the ear, and the mouth of the bishop[2]. In particular, they are most frequently chosen by him to be his messengers or attendants to the councils[3]. By these means the deacons rose to great importance, so that their office attained to a somewhat undue consideration, even to the disparagement of the presbyterate (Hieronym. *Epist.* cxlvi. *ad Evangelum*[4]), although the council of Nice had from the first condemned this practice as an irregularity[5]. From the 4th Century the deacons had at their head an archdeacon[6], who subsequently became an important ecclesiastical dignitary[7], rising to be (almost regularly) above the presbyters[8], and being chosen as the bishop's constant attendant[9]—a practice which was very liable to abuse[10].

[1] See the passages above, § 11, p. 44, note 1, (si episcopus, orarium, annulum et baculum; si presbyter, orarium et planetam; si diaconus, orarium et albam).

[2] Ἀκοὴ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ στόμα, καρδία τε καὶ ψυχὴ ἐπισκόπου.

[3] In this capacity Athanasius attended the bishop of Alexandria to the Council of Nice.

[4] Audio quemdam in tantum erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris id est episcopis anteferret; nam cum apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos, quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur!

[5] Ἐμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσί, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσιν. (Also *Statuta Ecclesia Antiqua* (*Conc. Carth.* iv.) can. 37, enjoins: Diaconus ita se presbyteri, ut episcopi ministrum noverit.)

[6] Cf. H. Götze, *De Archidiaconorum in veteri Ecclesia officiis et auctoritate.* Lips. 1705; also J. G. Pertsch, *Vom Ursprunge der Archidiaconen*, u. s. w. Hildesh. 1743.

[7] The archdeacon, however, assisted the bishop in the ordination of all the lower orders, *ordines minores* (a presbyter only in the case of a chorister), see § 14.

[8] In the Actio X. of the *Concil. Chalcedon.* there is found an instance (which is spoken of as quite an ordinary one) of ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος ὕβρισε πρεσβύτερον. See also the next note.

[9] At least according to Hieronymus, *Comm. in Ezechiel.* c. 48, the archdeacons did not much

In the evangelical or Lutheran Church the diaconate exists more in name than reality[1]. The Lutheran deacons (in all cases where they are clerical persons, and not merely lay officers of a nondescript kind, bearing the mere name of deacons) are actual pastors, *i. e.* presbyters, of subordinate powers, limited in their episcopal functions, and entrusted specially with certain temporal duties in addition to the internal and spiritual service of the Church. The reformed Church (Calvin, Geneva), which everywhere has either neutralized or overthrown the historical foundations of the Church, in accordance with its principle (so contradicted by all history), of the absolute equality of all orders of the priesthood, has in the case of the diaconate also dropped both the name and the thing (A).

Besides the office of deacons, there also existed in the Church from the Apostles' times[2] that of deaconesses[3], for the sake of the female part of the congregation (διακόνισσαι, αἱ διάκονοι), and sometimes also termed αἱ πρεσβυτίδες[4], Rom. xvi. 1, and 1 Tim. v. 9—15, compared with Plinii *Epist. ad Trajan. Epp.* x. 96[5]. The Church, it

like to become simple priests or presbyters. (Certe, qui primus fuerit ministrorum, quia per singula concionatur in populos [it was then quite a thing in course for an archdeacon to preach], quia a pontificis latere non recedit, injuriam putat, si presbyter ordinetur.)

[10] Isidore of Pelusium, *Epp.* l. IV. *Ep.* 188, who had described the deacons as ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπισκόπου, could therefore say of the archdeacon: ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς ὀφείλεις ὑπάρχειν, while however he felt obliged to add: ὀφείλεις μὴ σκοτίζειν τοῖς φαύλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὸν πειθόμενόν σοι ἀκρίτως ἐπίσκοπον.

[1] The Moravians, who pretend in respect to church-government to have restored the exact scripture model (although in regard to the episcopacy they have fallen into an error from not rightly distinguishing between the terms *of* and *after* the Apostles), have preserved the diaconate in the shape it had originally in the ancient church. So too has the Anglican Church (A).

[2] On the subject of deaconesses in the Apostles' times, see above, § 8, p. 27, and especially R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, Bd. I. s. 243—255.

[3] Cf. J. P. Odelem, *De Diaconissis Primitivæ Ecclesiæ.* Lips. 1700.

[4] The latter name being employed by *Concil. Laodic.* can. 11. (On which see below.)

[5] St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans calls Phœbe οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς; and in the well-known report of Pliny, mention is made of duæ ancillæ, quæ ministræ dicebantur. But on the point whether the passage 1 Tim. v. 9 ff. is also to be understood of these deacons, see Rothe, ibid. s. 243—246.

is true, in opposition to all heretical fanaticism, strictly maintained the Apostles' rule, 1 Cor. xiv. 34[1], which unconditionally forbade women to teach publicly in the church (Tertull. *de Præscriptt.* c. xli., *de Virginib. Velandis*, c. ix., and *adversus Marcionem*, v. 8[2], and also *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, c. xcix. c.[3]); but public teaching was by no means a part of the office of a deaconess; it was properly an office of ministering, and if the duty of teaching was sometimes combined with it, yet in that case it was confined exclusively to females[4]. The general object of the institution was to take the place of the deacon, or to facilitate his ministrations among the female members of the church (*Constitutt. Apostol.* iii. 15, and ii. 26[5], compared with Epiphanius, *Expositio Fidei*, c. xxi.[6]) It was especially the duty of the deaconesses to assist in the baptism of female catechumens, and to prepare them for baptism

[1] Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν.

[2] Tertullian, as a Montanist as well as a Catholic, insisted on the impropriety of admitting females to any office in the Church. *De Præscr.* l. l. he reviles the opposite practice among heretics: Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tinguere [to baptize]. As a Montanist he expressly lays it down, *De Virgg.* l. l.: Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere nec tinguere nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare; and *adv. Marcion.* l. l., appealing to the authority of St Paul, although he still (and that too not merely as a Montanist, cf. Acts ii. 17; xxi. 9) claimed for women prophetandi jus.

[3] Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.—Mulier baptizare non præsumat.

[4] To this alludes Clemens Alex. in *Stromata*, iii. p. 536, where he mentions ἀδελφὰς τὰς γυναῖκας συνδιακόνους ἐσομένας, ὅτι ὧν καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἀδιαβλήτως παρισεσθύετο ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλία. Cf. below, p. 60, the passage from Pelagius on the practice of the Eastern Church.

[5] Lib. iii. the bishop is instructed, προχειρίσαι διάκονον πιστὴν καὶ ἁγίαν εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπηρεσίας, because (as he goes on to say) in the houses of unbelievers the deacon could not, without incurring suspicion, administer to the females (ἀποστελεῖς οὖν γυναῖκα διάκονον διὰ τὰς τῶν φαύλων διανοίας), and because in many ministrations (as in the case of baptism) female services were needed for women (see n. 2, p. 58). On the former ground it is expressly ordered, l. ii.: ἄνευ τῆς διακόνου μηδεμία προσίτω γύνη τῷ διακόνῳ ἢ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

[6] Διακονίσσαι καθίστανται εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν γυναικῶν μόνον διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα, κ. τ. λ.

(*Statuta Eccles. Antiqua* [*Concil. Carthagin.* iv. c. 12, A.D. 398[1]], compared with Epiphanius, *ibid.*, and *Hæres.* 79, § 3[2]; and also, *Constitutt. Apostol.* iii. 15[3]), though they were also required to assist in the care of the female sick and poor (Epiphan. *Hær. ibid.*), and generally to advise the inexperienced matrons and virgins of the congregation.

In the beginning a regard to 1 Tim. v. 9[4], led to the appointment of none but widows and matrons above sixty to the office of deaconess[5] (Tertull. *de Virg. Veland.*[6]). Latterly, however, virgins were sometimes chosen[7], and indeed by preference, according to *Constitutt. Apostol.* vi. 17[8], although Tertullian complains of this (*ibid.* c. vi.[9]), and the *Theodos. Code* xvi.[10] again enforces the qualification of sixty years of age. The Justinian *Novells*, however (l. xxiii. c. 13), in

[1] Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres tempore, quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptismate vivant.

[2] Epiphanius, after the words quoted in n. 2, p. 57, immediately adds: λουτροῦ ἕνεκα ἢ ἐπισκέψεως σωμάτων (the latter in reference to certain corporeal attentions both with regard to Baptism, and also to other matters). He says more plainly, *Hær.* l. l.: "Οτι μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν...ἕνεκεν...σεμνότητος τοῦ γυναικείου γένους, ἢ δι' ὥραν λουτροῦ, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως πάθους ἢ πόνου, καὶ ὅτε γυμνωθεῖη σῶμα γυναίου, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἱερουργούντων ὑεαθείη, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς διακονίσσης.

[3] Καὶ γὰρ εἰς πολλὰς χρείας γυναικὸς χρῄζομεν διακόνου· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναῖκας ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν...καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτάς.

[4] Χήρα καταλεγέσθω μὴ ἔλατον ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα, κ. τ. λ.

[5] Therefore the deaconesses are simply called *viduæ*, and the female diaconate *viduatus*.

[6] Ad quam sedem præter annos sexaginta non tantum univiræ id est nuptæ aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres et quidem educatrices filiorum, scilicet ut experimentis omnium affectuum structæ facile norint ceteras et consilio et solatio juvare, et ut nihilominus ea decucurrerint, per quæ femina probari potest.

[7] Ignatius, *Epist. ad Smyrnenses*, c. 13: ἀσπάζομαι τὰς παρθένους, τὰς λεγομένας χήρας.

[8] Διακονίσσα γινέσθω παρθένος ἀγνή. εἰ δὲ μήγε, καὶ χήρα μονόγαμος, πιστὴ καὶ τιμία.

[9] Scio alicubi virginem in viduata ab annis nondum viginti collocatam. Cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinæ præstare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretar.

[10] Nulla nisi emensis sexaginta annis, cui votiva domi proles sit, secundum præceptum apostoli ad diaconissarum consortium transferatur.

accordance with the 14th canon[1] of the council of Chalcedon, lowered the limit of age to the 40th year.

Moreover, in earlier times the deaconesses were regularly ordained (see Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, i. 7[2], and the beautiful ordination prayer in the *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 20[3]). From the middle of the 4th Century, however, but not before, this custom began to be regarded as unseemly (probably the opinion of the Nicene Council[4] was not without its influence), and in the 5th and 6th Centuries it seems to have been wholly laid aside, at least in the West (Ambrosiaster, *Hilarius in Tim.* iii. 11[5]), where at a later date certain synods strictly forbade it (*Concil. Arausiacum* [Orange] i., A.D. 441, can. 26[6], *Concil. Epaonense*, A.D. 517, can. 27, and *Concil. Aurelianense* ii., A.D. 533, can. 18[8]). In the meantime in the East ordination was discontinued as early as the 4th Century, in compliance probably with the same precedent of the Nicene council

[1] Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

[2] Vidua allegitur in ordinem.

[3] The bishop, assisted by the priests, deacons, and deaconesses, says: O everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of woman as well as of man, of Miriam and of Deborah, of Hannah and of Hulda, who hast not deemed it unworthy of thy Majesty, that Thy only-begotten Son should be born of a woman, who, in the tabernacle of witness and in the temple, didst choose women to watch at thy sacred doors; look now upon this thine handmaiden to be set apart to thy service, and endue her with the gifts of thy Holy Spirit, purify her from all stain and corruption of the flesh and the spirit, in order that she may be worthy of the work unto which she is called, to thy glory, and to the praise and honour of Jesus Christ, unto Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all praise and adoration, now and for ever.

[4] Thus, even the General Council of Nice insists, can. 19, that deaconesses [this reading is required by the context; and even though it be simply deaconesses among heretics that are meant, still this does not in any way interfere with our argument] as not having been ordained should be classed among the lay members (διακονισσῶν...ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι).

[5] He condemns the Montanistic practice of ordaining them: Cataphrygæ etiam ipsas diaconas ordinari debere vana præsumptione defendunt.

[6] Diaconæ omnimodis non ordinandæ. Si quæ jam sunt, benedictioni, quæ populo impenditur, capita submittant.

[7] Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus.

[8] Ut nulli postmodum feminæ diaconalis benedictio pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur.

(*Concil. Laodic.* [about A.D. 360], can. 11), which inference is not easily to be avoided, considering the practice of the Eastern Church[1]. For the official labours of females formally sanctioned by ordination[2]—a practice which, strictly considered, was in no respect in unison with the Apostles' injunction—were but too liable to be abused, especially in the larger, and in some measure, secularized communities. Afterwards the office naturally lost more and more of respect and consideration. The institution of deaconesses (even without ordination) was in the West gradually laid aside, though the Eastern Church did not in this respect absolutely follow the Western[3]. On the contrary, in the East the office of deaconess still survived, assisting, not without a certain peculiar propriety, in the administration of baptism to females, and in their private devotions (Pelagius, *Comm. in Rom.* xvi. 1[4]), and there under a somewhat modified form it maintained itself down to a very late period of the middle ages (*Concil. Trullan.*, A.D. 692, can. 48[5], and Balsamon, *Responsa ad interrogationes Marci patr. Alex.*[6]).

[1] Μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας ἤτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι. This applies to the ordination, for in the East the institution had not as yet been wholly discontinued.

[2] Pro conditionis hujus fragilitate (s. p. 59, n. 8.)

[3] Most assuredly in the West also, the constant prohibition of their ordination testifies to the still continued existence of the office; for instance, the *Concil. Aurelianense* II., A.D. 533, can. 17, still speaks of feminæ, quæ benedictionem diaconatus hactenus contra interdicta canonum acceperunt; as indeed it is also well known, on the authority of Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* in the *Acta Sanctorum ad* 13 *Aug.*, that bishop Medardus in the sixth century manu superposita consecravit diaconam Radegundim.

[4] Sicut etiam nunc in orientalibus diaconissæ mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimas. (Opp. Hieronymi, t. XI. p. 898.)

[5] Τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἀξίωμα appears here to be in all its ancient repute.

[6] Balsamon, in the 12th Century, mentions that formerly καὶ τάγματα διακονισσῶν τοῖς κανόσι ἐπεγινώσκετο, καὶ εἶχον καὶ αὗται βαθμὸν ἐν τῷ βήματι, which place in the church, he says, was taken from them on account of their sex; but he goes on to remark that the office of deaconess still existed in the Church at Constantinople: παρὰ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θρόνου τῶν Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν διακονίσσαι προχειρίζονται, μίαν μὲν μετουσίαν μὴ ἔχουσαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἐκκλησιάζουσαι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὴν γυ-

In later times the brotherhood of the Herrnhutters (or Moravians) have revived, at least in analogy, the ancient office of deaconess, and given to it a form worthy of imitation in the Church; whereas the recently so-called deaconess in many parts of evangelical Christendom can only be regarded as the fruits of well-meaning but still capricious indulgence of individual fancy.

The baptizing by nurses which had been sanctioned by the Protestant Church, so far from giving them a diaconal authority, is rather in contravention of the practice of the ancient Church (cf. p. 57).

Sect. XIV.—ORDINES MINORES[1].

In the 3rd Century the *ordines majores* of the church, as they were subsequently called, were associated with what were contemporaneously styled the *ordines minores*.

At the head of the latter were the subdeacons, *ὑποδιάκονοι*, of whom the first express mention occurs in the 3rd Century in Cyprian (*Epist.* viii. 20. 23. 29. 34, &c.), and in the letter of the Roman bishop Cornelius (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43[2]). As *ὑπηρέται* (so they are styled in the 20th and following canons of the *Concil. Laodic.*[3], circiter 360 A.D.), they had to assist the deacons, though not in all[4], yet in some of their functions[5]. They were also specially

ναικωνῖτιν ἐκκλησιαστικῶς διορθούμεναι. That, however, the whole Eastern Church did not agree in this respect with that of Constantinople, is testified by the same Balsamon. In his *Comment. in Synod. Chalced.* c. 15, he remarks, that *διακονίσσα σήμερον οὐ χειροτονεῖται*, although it still remains a question whether what he meant here was not the ordination rather than the appointment of deaconesses.

[1] Cf. M. Larroquanus, *De Sacerdotibus Secundi Ordinis*, in s. *Adversaria Sacra*. Lugd. B. 1688. p. 244, sqq.

[2] Cornelius mentions *ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτά*, as parallel with the number of deacons, although here, as well as in the case of the deacons, the later Constantinopolitan Church went far beyond this original number. (Justinian, *Novell.* iii. 1, appoints 30 subdeacons for the Church there.)

[3] C. 20—22: *Δεῖ...ἔχειν τιμὴν καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν. Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονισμῷ. Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὠράριον φορεῖν, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] *Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἄρτον διδόναι οὐδὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν. Concil. Laodic.* can. 25.

[5] Among their other duties, according to *Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 11, in the Church *οἱ διάκονοι ἱστάθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας*

employed by the bishops as their legates (Cyprian, *Ep.* xxii.). According to *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 21[1], a subdeacon must be ordained by a bishop with imposition of hands; but according to the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* c. v.[2] (which are usually ascribed to the Council of Carthage, A.D. 398), by a bishop assisted by his archdeacon, but without imposition of hands; which moreover was not practised in the case of any other of the *ordines minores*.

To the *ordines minores* belonged in the next place the acolythi[3], ἀκόλουθοι; an office, however, peculiar to the Western Church, and of which the earliest mention occurs in Cornel. *ibid.*[4], and Cyprianus (*Epist.* lxxviii. lxxix., &c.). They were the peculiar attendants of the bishops when officiating in the church[5], and also assistants of the subdeacons[6].

Next came the exorcists[7], ἐπορκισταί or ἐξορκισταί, whose ministrations concerned the possessed—the ἐνεργούμενοι, δαιμονιζόμενοι, over whom they were to pray (Cyprian,

καὶ ὑπιδιάκονος εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μήτις ἐξέλθῃ, μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς. As characteristic of the duties of the subdiaconate, the prayer of ordination in the *Constt. Apost.* viii. 21, insists particularly on the ἐπαξίως ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν λειτουργικῶν σκευῶν; and in truth the cup and paten (empty) are the insignia of the subdiaconate (according to *Concil. Tolet.* iv. a. 633, c. 28,—above, p. 44, n. 1; and *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 5,—note 2, p. 62).

[1] Ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας (καὶ ἐρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. Then follows the prayer of consecration).

[2] Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam, de episcopi manu accipiat vacuam et calicem vacuum; de manu vero archidiaconi urceolum cum aqua (for the purpose of mixing with the wine at the Holy Communion) et mantile et manutergium.

[3] Cf. G. G. Gräbner, *De Acoluthis Progr.* 1—3. Dresd. 1748.

[4] Who mentions in the Roman Church ἀκόλουθοι δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

[5] Their name being probably derived from their following in the train of the bishop.

[6] On the subject of their duties and of their consecration thereto, it is said by the *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 6: Acolythus cum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur, qualiter in officio suo agere debeat; sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat, se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.

[7] Cf. G. G. Wagner, *De Exorcistis Veteris Ecclesiæ.* Lips. 1705.

Epist. LXXV. LXXVI.[1], and Cornelius, *ibid.*[2]). Originally this office was looked upon as a free gift of the Spirit, or *charisma*, in which light it is also regarded in the *Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 26[3]; but at a later period it became a formally instituted office[4], of which the duties were extended to the care of the catechumens[5].

After these followed the *ostiarii*, θυρωροί, *janitores*, πυλωροί, mentioned likewise by Cornelius (*ibid.*[6]), who, waiting exclusively on the archdeacon, had to attend solely to external matters, such as the opening and shutting of the doors, &c.[7]

One of the very oldest of the inferior officers of the church was the reader (*lector*[8], ἀναγνώστης), who moreover took precedence of the *ostiarius*. Mention of such an officer occurs as early as in Tertullian (*de Præscript.* c. XLI.[9]); and in all probability there is an allusion to it even in

[1] Per Exorcistas voce humana et potestate divina flagellatur et uritur et torquetur diabolus.

[2] The exorcists, readers, and door-keepers in the Roman Church, are *altogether* said to have amounted to fifty-two (ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα).

[3] Ἐπορκιστὴς οὐ χειροτονεῖται· ἐννοίας γὰρ ἐκουσίου τὸ ἔπαθλον καὶ χάριτος Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

[4] The *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 7, command with regard to the ordination of exorcists: Exorcista cum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum sive catechumenum. In obedience thereto, this office was so administered that (c. 90) omni die exorcistæ energumenis manus imponant, and (by c. 92) energumenis in domo Dei assidentibus victus quotidianus per exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur.

[5] Thus Isidorus Hispal. *de Eccl. Offic.* II. 20, speaks of the sermo increpationis contra spiritum immundum in energumenis sive catechumenis factus, per quem ab illis diaboli nequissima virtus et inveterata malitia vel excursio violenta fugetur.

[6] Only there was not (as has been erroneously stated by Rheinwald, *Archäol.* s. 59) 52 in Rome. (See above, note 2).

[7] The *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 9, order: Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi, tradat ei episcopus claves ecclesiæ de altario, dicens: Sic age, quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quæ his clavibus recluduntur.

[8] Cf. J. A. Schmid, *De Primitivæ Ecclesiæ Lectoribus Illustribus.* Helmst. 1696, and P. Paulsen, *De Lectoribus Veteris Eccl. Judaicæ et Christianæ.* Cf. Böhmer, *Alterth.* 1, 287.

[9] Hodie diaconus, qui cras lector.

Justin Martyr (*Apolog.* i. § 67[1]). With great reason this office was by St Cyprian conferred by preference on such as had earned the title of *confessores*[2] (Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxiii. *al.* xxxviii.). The reader's duty was to read the longer lessons in the public service[3], and to keep in his house the copies of the Scriptures[4]. It was not unusual to select for the office of reader—so far at least as it was confined to reading—mere youths, and even boys[5], who began therewith their clerical career[6]. Justinian, however (*Novell.* cxxiii. § 13), fixes eighteen as the canonical age of the reader.

From among the readers[7] were occasionally chosen—not, however, that these constituted a regular and permanent office—the notaries, *notarii*[8], *excerptores*, ταχυγράφοι, who were present at all the public proceedings of the church, in order to make a record thereof (*Gesta Ecclesiastica*). Functions of this kind appear as early as the

[1] Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν ... ποιεῖται.

[2] Quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare (post verba sublimia—as Cyprian adds, for the designation of the lessons from the Old as well as the New Testament, as belonging to the office of the Anagnostes or reader,—quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt).

[3] Principally, but still not exclusively, out of the Old Testament. See the preceding note, and also above, § 13, p. 52, note 10. —Lector cum ordinatur, is moreover the regulation of the *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 8, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem ac vitam atque ingenium. Post hæc spectante plebe tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: Accipe et esto lector verbi Dei, cet. See also the ordination prayer, *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 22.

[4] The *Acta Martyrum* constantly speak of the readers being questioned about the holy scriptures in their houses, *in Optat. Milev.* p. 152.

[5] Victor Vitensis, *Historia Persecutionis Afric. Vandal.* v. 9, mentions lectores infantuli; and in the same way in the *Actis Sanctorum Septemb.* t. viii. p. 147, ἀναγνώστης ἐκ βρέφους, is spoken of; while Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22, notices it as being in the case of the Alexandrian Anagnostæ, ἀδιάφορον, εἴτε κατηχούμενοί εἰσιν, εἴτε πιστοί.

[6] Ut ab officio lectoris incipiat, appears from Cyprian, *ib.* to have been already a clerical regulation in special cases. Other examples thereof occur in *Act. Sanct.* l. l., in the *Vita Euthymii Monachi*, in Coteler. *Eccl. Græcæ Monumenta*, Par. 1681, t. ii. p. 206, cet.

[7] An instance may be found, Ennodius, *Vita Epiphanii Ticinensis*, in *Bibl. Patrum*, t. xv. p. 295.

[8] Cf. D. Schurf, *De Notariis Ecclesiæ tum Orientalis tum Occidentalis.* Helmst. 1715.

Council of Antioch, which met to consider of the case of Paul of Samosata (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 29[1]). Occasionally, however, this duty was discharged by the deacons (see *Concil. Ephesin. Œcu.* Act. i.[2]); a presbyter even appears as πρῶτος νοταρίων in the *Concil. Chalced.* Act. iii.

Lastly, we must mention the regular singers, ψαλταί, *cantores*[3], who were first appointed with a view to improve the ecclesiastical music, and to lead in the church[4].

Their appointment dates at latest from the middle of the 4th Century. The bishop's concurrence (and with his that of the archdeacon as required in most cases) was not, as was the case with the rest of the *ordines minores*, absolutely indispensable to their election and appointment. That of the priest was sufficient, according to *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, which contain also the short but extremely beautiful ordination prayers[5].

Sect. XV.—EXTRAORDINARY OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

To the extraordinary and temporary officers of the Church belong,

1 The interpreters, *hermeneutæ*, ἑρμενευταί[6], analogous to the תּוּרְגְּמָנִים, the ὀραγούμενοι of the Byzantines, whose duty it was to interpret into the vernacular tongue the portions of Scripture which were read out in the congregation, and also the sermon. For this purpose they were

[1] ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων.

[2] Λέτιος διάκονος καὶ νοτάριος.

[3] Cf. J. A. Schmid, *De Cantoribus Eccles. V. et N. T.* Helmst. 1708, and M. Bloch, *De Psaltarum seu Cantorum Origine in Ecclesia.* Havn. 1711.

[4] Μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. According to which no one is to assume the office of singer in the church but those who have been regularly appointed to the office, *regulares cantores*, and who from the pulpitum sung from the parchment, or choir-books.

[5] Psalmista *i.e.* Cantor potest absque scientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri, officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero: Vide, ut, quod ore cantas, corde credas, et quod corde credis, operibus comprobes.

[6] Cf. E. A. Frommann, *De Hermeneutis Veteris Ecclesiæ.* Altd. 1747.

appointed by the church (Epiphanius, *Expositio Fidei Catholicæ*[1], c. xxi.), where the people, or at least a portion of them, did not understand Latin and Greek, and whose ignorance required to be met by interpretations, which were made either directly from the originals, or indirectly by the aid of Latin versions. Thus in Africa, for instance, *interpreters* were required to translate the service into the Punic (Augustin, *Epist.* ccix. LXXXIV. *et alibi*), and similarly also in other places[2].

2 The office of catechist[3] was designed for the private instruction of the catechumens (as indeed the very name indicates), and also (before the institution of Christian schools) for the religious instruction of the children of believers (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 6[4]). This office, however, was not generally held by persons exclusively appointed to it, but by certain of the clergy chosen out of the whole body for this purpose by the bishop (doctor, *audientum*, κατηχητής, *catechistes*), who was either a *lector* (cf. Cyprian, *Epist.* xxiii.[5]), or a deacon (cf. Augustin, *de Catechiz. rudis rudibus*, c. i.[6]), or even a presbyter (as in the case of Clemens Alexandrinus, and of Origen in the latter period of his life[7]). It was only as an excep-

[1] Ἑρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις.

[2] In the beginning of the 4th century, according to the *Passio S. Procopii Martyris* (ed. Valesius), there existed in the church of Scythopolis tria ministeria; unum in legendi officio, alterum in syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus dæmones manus impositione.

[3] Cf. J. H. Krause, *De Catechetis Primitivæ Ecclesiæ*. Lips. 1704, and other treatises on the Catechetical School at Alexandria.

[4] In this passage Eusebius states that Clement, as catechist, had for his pupil Origen, παῖδα ὄντα. That, moreover, children were not absolutely excluded from Origen's original course of catechetical instruction will very well agree with Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 15, although the fact is not expressly asserted, inasmuch as, according to this passage, Origen about the middle of his career as catechist at Alexandria, divided his disciples into two classes, and taught Heraclas τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἄρτι στοιχειουμένων εἰσαγωγήν.

[5] Optatum inter lectores doctorem audientium constituimus.

[6] Dixisti, quod sæpe apud Carthaginem, ubi diaconus es, ad te adducuntur, qui fide christiana primitus imbuendi sunt, eo quod existimeris habere catechizandi uberem facultatem et doctrina fidei et suavitate sermonis.

[7] Clement of Alexandria indeed was at the same time priest and catechist (cf. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 11, and vi. 6. 13, 14, as also Hieronym. *Catal.* c. 38), and so too Origen, as is well known, discharged the duties of the catechist's office even

tional case, that in places like Alexandria, which had a high reputation for learning, the teaching in these schools was committed to eminently qualified laymen, as was the case with Origen, when in his seventeenth or eighteenth year he first assumed the catechetical office[1]. Indeed, the Alexandrian catechists seem to stand apart and distinct from all the others as a peculiar body, since their school was, in a certain degree, influenced by the studies and culture of the place; and as early as the second half of the 2nd Century became a sort of theological seminary, so that its teachers necessarily assumed both internally and externally a somewhat different position from the other catechists[2].

In later times, when the catechist's instruction had in view not so much the candidates for baptism as for confirmation, the office was still held by particular priests and deacons. Thus, too, in modern times in the evangelical or Lutheran Church, which also in some places has its special catechists (priests without priestly or pastoral functions; without cure of souls or authority to administer the sacraments, and appointed merely for publicly teaching the principles of the Christian faith), the duty is by rule entrusted to those who, neither properly nor by their qualifications, are representatives of the episcopal dignity; whereas, on the contrary, in the reformed or Genevan Church (whose ministers are not in fact, and do not pretend to be, anything more than mere preachers) the principle of the absolute equality of all ministers admitted absolutely of no *exemptions*.

after he received priest's orders, from 228 to 231 A.D.

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 3, compared with Hieronym. *Catal.* c. 54.

[2] On the catechetical school of Alexandria, and the internal and external position of its teachers, see the works by myself and others given in § 16.

Sect. XVI.—REQUISITES, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE OFFICES OF THE CHURCH.

1 Purity of doctrine and a corresponding holiness of life, together with the necessary learning and personal ability, were the requisites and conditions which from the very first[1] the Church looked for in those whom she intrusted with the administration of her offices[2] (Tertull. *Apol.* c. xxxix.[3], and Cyprian, *Epist.* LXVIII. 33[4]). Consequently the Church excluded from all spiritual offices, after the totally ignorant (*Concil. Rom.* 465 A.D., can. 3[5]), first of all the *pœnitentes*, and not only those who were actually undergoing, but all even who had ever been condemned to do penance: all in short who either actually were or ever had been excommunicated (Origenes *c. Celsum*, iii. p. 143, ed. Spencer[6], *Concil. Nicæn.* can. 10[7], and *Conc.*

[1] The necessary qualifications are indeed laid down by St Paul in the pastoral epistles.

[2] In our enumeration and description of the several offices of the Church, we have already several times stated fully the qualifications and requirements for their right discharge.

[3] Præsident apud nos probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.

[4] Ep. 68 speaks of the potestas plebis, vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi, since ep. 33 (al. 38) more closely describes this examination of worthiness as mores ac merita singulorum communi (cleri et plebis) consilio ponderare; and designates the whole body of the laity as that quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit.

[5] Inscii quoque literarum et hi, qui ex pœnitentibus sunt, ad sacros ordines aspirare non audeant.

[6] He gives it as his opinion that such should be admitted, *εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ προστασίαν τῆς λεγομένης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ*, since, as he elsewhere remarks moreover (*Commentarior. Series. in Matth.* 33. Opp. vol. III. ed. Ru. p. 852), Malum quidem est, invenire aliquem secundum mores vitæ errantem; multo autem pejus arbitror esse, in dogmatibus aberrare.

[7] "*Οσοι προεχειρίσθησαν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, ἢ καὶ προειδότων τῶν προχειρισαμένων, τοῦτο οὐ προκρίνει τῷ κανόνι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ· γνωσθέντες γὰρ καθαιροῦνται.* Should any of the *lapsi* happen to be ordained either through ignorance or complicity of the ordaining bishops, this is not a bar to the Church's regulations. As soon as they are found out they are degraded. Essentially and indeed almost literally the same are the *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* (*Conc. Carth.* IV.) c. 88: Ex pœnitentibus quamvis sit bonus clericus non ordinetur; si per ignorantiam episcopi factum fuerit, deponatur a clero;... si autem sciens episcopus ordinaverit talem, etiam ab episcopatus sui ordinandi duntaxat potestate privetur.

Rom. A.D. 465, *ibid.*) — a canon which naturally had a retrospective effect on all existing clergy who, either by their evil previous life or doctrine, brought their sacred office into discredit[1]. From the episcopate were excluded (though to this there were exceptions[2]) all novices as being untried (*Canones Apostol.* c. LXXIX.[3]), and regularly also from the priesthood the *clinici* (who after unduly delaying it had by sickness been driven to receive baptism), as not to be relied upon (*Concil. Neocaesar.* A.D. 314, can. 12[4]);

[1] The several cases of evil conversation are enumerated pretty fully in the *Canones Apostolici*. Among these are offences against the law of marriage, which directly excluded the guilty party from all spiritual functions, can. 16, 17: (*ὁ ὑσὶ γάμοις συμπλακεὶς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἢ παλλακὴν κτησάμενος οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.—Ὁ χήραν λαβὼν ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην ἢ ἑταίραν ἢ οἰκέτιν ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ*)—not to speak of offences against the later law of the celibacy of the priesthood. Moreover, how very closely the life and conduct of the clergy were watched both in external matters and trifles, we may see from the *Statutis Eccl. Antiq.* (*Conc. Carth.* IV.) *e.g.* can. 44, 45. 50. 62. &c. (Clericus nec comam nutriat nec barbam.—Clericus professionem suam et in habitu et in incessu probet, et nec vestibus nec calceamentis decorem quærat.—Clericum scurrilem et verbis turpibus jocularem ab officio retrahendum.—Clericum inter epulas cantantem acerrime objurgandum; si perstiterit in vitio, excommunicandum), cf. *Concil. Carth.* III. a. 397. can. 27: (Ut clerici edendi vel bibendi causa tabernas non ingrediantur, nisi peregrinationis necessitate compulsi). As to doctrinal incapacity, the *Canones Apostolici* even regarded all intercourse of spiritual persons with heretics in this light, can. 44: *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος αἱρετικοῖς συνευξάμενος μόνον ἀφοριζέσθω, κ.τ.λ.*, and can. 63: *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς λαϊκὸς εἰσέλθῃ εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων ἢ αἱρετικῶν συνεύξασθαι, καθαιρείσθω καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω*, compared with *Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 70: Clericus hæreticorum et schismaticorum tam convivia quam sodalitates evitet æqualiter.

[2] For instance, Nectarius (according to Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. 8): *τὴν μυστικὴν ἐνθῆτα ἔτι ἡμφιεσμένος κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου ἀναγορεύεται Κωνσταντινοπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος.* St Ambrose of Milan was only a catechumen when he was raised to the episcopate (*ἔτι ἀμύητος*, according to Sozomen, *H. E.* VI. 34).

[3] *Τὸν ἐξ ἐθνικοῦ βίου προσελθόντα καὶ βαπτισθέντα ἢ ἐκ φαύλης διαγωγῆς οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι παραυτίκα προχειρίζεσθαι ἐπίσκοπον· ἄδικον γὰρ τὸν μηδὲ πρόπειραν ἐπιδειξάμενον ἑτέρων εἶναι διδάσκαλον· εἰ μή που κατὰ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γίνεται.*

[4] *Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται, —οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης,—εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων.*

and lastly, from every spiritual office those who had mutilated themselves, as causing offence (*Canones Apostol.* c. xx—xxii.[1]) However, the first distinct trace in the western Church of any previous examination of the faith and literary qualifications of candidates for holy orders is as late as the 5th Century. The *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* (which it is pretended emanated from the Council of Carthage, 398 A.D.) give in their 1st canon, a detailed form for the examination of a bishop, not only in other matters, but especially in doctrine[2]; the 3rd Council of Carthage

[1] Εὐνοῦχος εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετό τις, ἢ ἐν ὀιωγμῷ ἀφηρέθη τὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἢ οὕτως ἔφυ, καί ἐστιν ἄξιος, γινέσθω (Clericus).—Ὁ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτὸν μὴ γινέσθω κληρικός· αὐτοφονευτὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός. —Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὢν ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσει, καθαιρείσθω, φονευτὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ.—Indeed the can. 77, 78, enact that dumbness (κωφός) and blindness (whether or not criminally incurred) should, as long as it lasted, exclude the party from all spiritual functions.

[2] Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis cavens, si humilis, si affabilis, misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus; et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus asserat: id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans totamque Trinitatis deitatem coessentialem et consubstantialem et coæternam et coomnipotentem prædicans: si singularem quamque in Trinitate personam plenum Deum: si incarnationem divinam non in Patre neque in Spiritu Sancto factam, sed in Filio tantum credat, ut qui erat in divinitate Dei Patris Filius, ipse fieret in homine hominis matris Filius, Deus verus ex Patre, homo verus ex matre, carnem ex matris visceribus habens, et animam humanam rationalem, simul in eo ambæ naturæ id est Deus et homo una persona, unus Filius, unus Christus, unus Dominus creator omnium quæ sunt et auctor et Dominus et rector, cum Patre et Spiritu S. omnium creaturarum: qui passus sit vera carnis suæ resurrectione et vera animæ resumptione, in qua veniet, judicare vivos et mortuos. Quærendum etiam ab eo, si Novi et Veteris Testamenti i. e. legis et prophetarum et apostolorum unum eundemque credat auctorem et Deum; si diabolus non per conditionem, sed per arbitrium factus sit malus. Quærendum etiam ab eo, si credat hujus quam gestamus et non alterius carnis resurrectionem; si credat judicium futurum, et recepturos singulos pro his, quæ in carne gesserunt, vel pœnas vel gloriam; si nuptias non improbet, si secunda matrimonia non damnet, si carnium perceptionem non culpet, si pœnitentibus reconciliatis communicet, si in baptismo omnia peccata id est tam illud originale contractum, quam illa quæ voluntarie admissa sunt, dimittantur; si extra ecclesiam catholicam nullus servetur. Cum in his omnibus ex-

(held A.D. 397) having previously ordered that the clergy of every rank should be examined[1]. In the East, the first notice we have of any examination of orthodoxy being required, is a law of Justinian's of the year 541 A.D. (*Novell.* cxxxvii. § 2).

2 But long before this had the necessity been admitted of special institutions for the training and education of the clergy. The prejudices of those who despised all mental training as unnecessary for the clerical profession, were earnestly and warmly combated by the most distinguished of the fathers of the Church (St Chrysostom, *e.g. de Sacerdotio*, iv. 6, 7[2]; St Augustin, *de Doctrina Christ. prolog.*[3]; St Jerome, *Epist.* LVII. *ad Pammach.* § 12[4]).

aminatus, inventus fuerit plene instructus, cum consensu clericorum et laicorum et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia, ordinetur episcopus. Suscepto in nomine Christi episcopatu, non suæ delectationi, nec suis motibus, sed his patrum diffinitionibus acquiescat. In cujus ordinatione etiam ætas requiratur, quam sancti patres in præeligendis episcopis constituerunt.

[1] Ut nullus ordinetur clericus, nisi probatus vel episcoporum examine vel populi testimonio.

[2] Τοῦτο γὰρ (the ignorance of the clergy), τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε καὶ ῥαθυμοτέρους περὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ διδασκαλίαν ἐποίησε· μὴ γὰρ ὀυνηθέντες ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι τῶν ἀποστολικῶν φρενῶν τὸ βάθος, μηδὲ συνιέναι τὴν τῶν ῥημάτων διάνοιαν, διετέλεσαν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον νυστάζοντες καὶ χασμωμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τιμῶντες ταύτην, οὐχ ἣν ὁ Παῦλός φησιν εἶναι ἀμαθῆς, ἀλλὰ, κ. τ. λ.

[3] Jam ergo, si placet, moneamus omnes fratres, ne parvulos suos ista doceant, quia momento uno temporis adveniente Spiritu Sancto repleti apostoli omnium gentium linguis locuti sunt, aut cui talia non provenerint, non se arbitretur esse Christianum; ... immo vero et quod per hominem discendum est, sine superbia discat, et per quem docetur alius, sine superbia et sine invidia tradat, quod accepit. Neque tentemus eum, cui credidimus, ne talibus inimici versutiis et perversitate decepti ad ipsum quoque evangelium audiendum atque discendum nolimus ire in ecclesias aut codicem legere aut legentem prædicantemque hominem audire, et exspectemus rapi usque in tertium cœlum.... Caveamus tales tentationes superbissimas et periculosissimas.

[4] Nec reprehendo in quolibet Christiano sermonis imperitiam; atque utinam Socraticum illud haberemus: Scio, quod nescio.... Venerationi mihi semper fuit non verbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas. Qui sermone se dicit imitari apostolos, prius imitetur virtutes in vita illorum. In loquendo simplicitatem excusabit sanctimoniæ magnitudo, et syllogismos Aristotelis contortaque Chrysippi acumina resurgens mortuus confutabit. Ceterum ridiculum, si quis e nobis...de sola rusticitate se jactet; quasi omnes latrones et diversorum criminum rei diserti sint et cruentos gladios philosophorum voluminibus...occultent.

The entire work of St Chrysostom *De Sacerdotio*, and St Augustin's treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, as also in part, Gregory Nazianzene's *Carmen de se ipso et adversus Episcopos*[1], and at a later date Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*, were in fact a sort of literary instruction for the spiritual office. There were however schools also expressly for the clergy[2].

The oldest catechetical school that we know of is that of Alexandria (in Hieronymus, *Catalog.* c. xxxviii. *Schola Ecclesiastica*, and c. lxix. *Schola κατηχήσεων*; in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10, διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων, and τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διδασκαλεῖον, *ib.* vi. 3, 26, τὸ τῆς κατηχήσεως διδασκαλεῖον, and *ib.* vi. 6, ἡ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατήχησις; in Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl. Euseb. Vers.* vi. 3, *Magisterium Catechizandi*, and vi. 22, *Auditorium*, κατηχήσεως; in Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 15, τὸ ἱερὸν διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων; in Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* cxviii. ἐκκλησιαστικὸν διδασκαλεῖον, and *Cod.* cxix. τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παιδευτήριον, &c.). In all probability (as the very name indicates) this institution was originally intended for the teaching of catechumens; owing, however, to the influence of the high training which every school imparted to its catechumens (Clemens, *Stromata*, l. vi. p. 786[3]), and of the social circumstances of Alexandria,

[1] Εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ ἐπισκόπων. Cf. especially v. 371, &c. No one can be a physician or a painter except he knows the nature of diseases, or has made many essays in mixing colours, &c.; but a clergyman is easy to be found—not indeed well trained and well taught, but one so soon and quickly made, that sown one moment he like the giants, is full blown the next. "We make holy men in a day, and bid them to be wise, though as yet they possess no knowledge, and when as yet they bring to their new spiritual office nothing at best but goodwill." Compared with v. 156, &c. "Some come from the counter, others sunburnt from the plough, some from the mattock or the axe which they have wielded the whole day," &c.; and v. 393, &c. "Even as late as yesterday thou wast in the theatre amongst the stage-players."

[2] Cf. H. Conringii *Antiquitat. Academ.* (Helmst. 1591) diss. I, *de Scholis Antiquis;* Dom. Aulisio, *della Scuole Sacre.* Napoli. 1723; J. G. Keuffel, *Commentarius de Historia Originis ac Progressus Scholarum inter Christianos.* Helmst. 1724; J. D. Heilmann, *Diss. de Scholis priscorum Christianor. Theologicis (Opuscula,* ed. E. J. Danov. Jen. 1774. T. I. p. 201 sqq.)

[3] εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν κατηχουμένων, καὶ μάλιστα ἑλλήνων ὄντων, οὐκ ἀφεκτέον τῆς φιλομαθίας, κ.τ.λ.

where a famous heathen school had long flourished, it soon became a sort of higher school of theology. Eusebius derives its foundation ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, and St Jerome (*Catal.* c. xxxvi.), asserts that from the times of the Evangelist St Mark there always had been *ecclesiastici doctores* at Alexandria. However this may be, it is an undisputed fact, that the first distinguished teacher of this school was Pantænus, who lived in the second half of the 2nd Century. Before him Eusebius does not mention any one as master of it (*H. E.* v. 10); while Ruffinus in his later version of Eusebius' History expressly calls him the first of the series of teachers at that place (vi. 3[1]). Probably one Athenagoras (of whom, however, Eusebius makes no mention) presided over the school before Pantænus, though his reputation is very far from coming near to that of his scholar. Moreover, the only testimony in favour of Athenagoras[2] is the fragment of the Church History of Philippus Sidetes in the 5th Century, discovered and published by H. Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenæum.* Oxon. 1689, p. 488, &c.; which, however, is not an unquestionable authority[3]. After Pantænus, the most eminent teachers of this school were Clement, Origen, and Dionysius in the 3rd Century, and in the 4th Didymus. Shortly after the presidency of the latter, the school in the 5th Century ceased to exist[4]. The bishop of Alexandria had naturally the control and regulation of the Alexandrian school, and nominated the presidents of it[5]. It would seem that a single catechist presided over the school[6], and it was an exception to the regular practice when the catechist had a temporary assistant[7] (as in the case of Origen, who for the subordinate duties associated with

[1] Quod (catechizandi magisterium) primus post apostolos apud Alexandriam Pantænus...administravit.

[2] Τοῦ διδασκαλείου τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀθηναγόρας πρῶτος ἠγήσατο.

[3] See on this point my *Comm. de Schola Alex.* p. 1. p. 4 sqq. compared with p. 16 sqq.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 116 sqq. compared with pp. 20—99.

[5] This was the name given to Origen by bishop Demetrius, according to Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 3, and Hieronym. *Catal.* c. 54.

[6] Eusebius, Hieronymus and Phil. Sidetes invariably speak as if they had uninterruptedly followed one after the other. (See my *Comm.* l. c. p. 109 sqq.)

[7] See my *Comm.* l. c. p. 110.

himself Heraclas, Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 15). The office of catechist, however, was discharged (at least by Origen) without a stipend, and in a private house (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 3, compared with my *Commentary*, pp. 114 and 116). For more precise information with regard to this school, see my *Commentatio de Schola, quæ Alexandriæ floruit, Catechetica*, P. I. (*Externa Scholia Historia*) Hal. 1824 (as to its constitution, see especially p. 108 sqq.), compared with J. G. Michaelis, *De Scholæ Alex. sic dictæ Catechet. Origine cet.* Hal. 1739 (subsequently enlarged under the title of *Exercitatio Historica*, and published in *Symbolæ Literar. Bremens.* T. I. fasc. 3, p. 195 sqq.) and C. F. G. Hasselbach, *De Schola quæ Alex. floruit, Catechetica*, P. I. 1826. 4 (a Prolusion delivered in the school at Stettin[1]).

Besides the Alexandrian school, others were gradually formed. Thus, out of that of Alexandria (after the expulsion of Origen, A.D. 232) arose that of Cæsarea, where Origen had for his disciple Gregory Thaumaturgus (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 30), and where somewhat later the presbyter Pamphilus (who died 309 A.D.) formally founded a school (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32[2]). If any credit be due to the above quoted fragment of Philippus Sidetes, after the death of Didymus (A.D. 395) a school was founded in the beginning of the 5th Century at Side in Pamphylia, under the catechist Rhodon, which, however, was never very considerable. On the other hand, there was now flourishing another theological school, whose foundation had been laid as early as the end of the 3rd Century by the learned presbyter Dorotheus (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32[3]), and Lucian the critic (Hieronymus, *Catal.* c. LXXVII.). This was the school of Antioch, which in the following Centuries rose to eminence under the presidency of the presbyter Diodorus (afterwards bishop of Tarsus), and his disciples, St Chrysostom, and Theodore, afterwards bishop of Mopsuestia, and which also became highly im-

[1] Other, and especially older treatises on this subject, are mentioned in my *Comm.* l. c. p. 7 sq. Compare also E. R. Redepenning, *Origenes*. Th. I. Bonn. 1841. s. 57 ff.

[2] Συνεστήσατο διατριβήν.

[3] Λούκιος ἀνὴρ φιλόκαλος ὃ οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεῖα γεγονὼς, καὶ τῆς ἑβραίων ἐπιμελήθη γλώσσης κ. τ. λ.

portant as a school of biblical exegesis and interpretation[1]. A branch from the school of Antioch was that at Edessa, which, according to a statement in Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, T. III. P. ii. p. 924[2]) was founded by Ephraem Syrus (who was born 378 A.D.); but which owed its repute mainly to Itas, bishop of Edessa (from A.D. 436 to 457). After having flourished not quite a century as a training-school for the Persian clergy, it perished, according to the *Chronicon Edessanum*, amid the disputes of the Church, A.D. 489[3]. Out of its ruins, however, sprung up a well-organized school at Nisibis in Mesopotamia (see Assemani, *ibid.* p. 927[4]; and for the regulations of this school, pp. 942, 946), which towards the end of the 5th Century was founded by Narses, who had previously been one of the teachers in the school of Edessa. Under the presidency of Hanan, in the beginning of the 7th Century, it reckoned as many as 800 scholars, while its general consideration is attested by numerous weighty testimonies from western writers[5].

These schools[6], however, were very far from embracing within the sphere of their operations the whole extent of

[1] With regard to the school at Antioch, especially see F. Münter, *Comm. de Schola Antiochena.* Hafn. 1811.

[2] Edessam petiit Ephraemus ibique mansit omnibus diebus vitæ suæ scholamque erexit, quæ post eum duravit.

[3] According to Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* II. p. 526, it was destroyed by Zeno as heretical (*Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντικατασπρέψας τὴν ἐν Ἐδέσσῃ τῶν Περσῶν καλουμένην διατριβήν, ὡς τὴν Νεστορίου καὶ Θεοδώρου παραδιδοῦσαν διδασκαλίαν, ἠθέτησεν*).

[4] Ex Edessenæ Persarum scholæ ruinis Nisibena consurrexit.

[5] Junilius, who about the middle of the sixth century, was bishop of North Africa, in the dedication of his work (*De Partibus Divinæ Legis*) acknowledges, vidisse quendam Paulum nomine, Persam genere, qui in Syrorum schola in Nisibi urbe est edoctus, ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, sicut apud nos in mundanis studiis grammatica et rhetorica, ordine ac regulariter traditur; and then goes on to add some particulars on the method and results of the teaching of this Paul of Nisibis, stating that he himself had heard him beati Pauli ad Romanos epistolam subtilius exponentem (quam ego ex ejus ore, ne memoria laberetur, excepi); that he gradually led on the course of instruction with his pupils, ne sparsim et turbulente, sed regulariter singula discerent, &c.—The school of Nisibis is also briefly mentioned by Cassiodorus, in the passage cited in the next note but one.

[6] Naturally we make no mention here of the later, and medieval, and modern ones.

the Church. The West especially was deficient in educational institutions for theology (see Cassiodorus in the 6th Century, *de Institut. Divin. Lit.* l. i. *præfatio*[1]), who states that he had in vain endeavoured in Rome to remedy this defect. Other means were consequently resorted to by those who were desirous of qualifying themselves for the clerical profession. Some, as was the case especially in the Greek Church, resorted to the usual schools of literature in Athens, Alexandria, and Constantinople, &c.[2], and then either immediately sought admission to one of the inferior orders (for which indeed they were rather generally than specially prepared by a culture which had been more heathenish than Christian), or else they sought in privacy and retirement to qualify themselves for the spiritual office. Others, at least after the last times of the 4th Century, sought in the cloisters the necessary qualification for the several grades of the ministerial office, receiving there not merely an ascetical, but also a learned and biblical training (Siricius, *Epist.* i. *ad Himer.* § 13[3]). Moreover

[1] Cum studia sæcularium literarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem,... gravissimo sum, fateor, dolore permotus, quod scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent, cum mundani auctores celeberrima procul dubio traditione pollerent. Nisus sum ergo cum b. Agapito papa urbis Romæ, ut sicut apud Alexandriam multo tempore fuisse traditur institutum, nunc etiam in Nisibi civitate Syrorum ab Hebræis sedulo fertur exponi, collatis expensis in urbe Romana professos doctores scholæ potius acciperent christianæ, unde et anima susciperet æternam salutem et casto atque purissimo eloquio fidelium lingua comeretur. Sed cum per bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in italico regno certamina desiderium meum nullatenus voluisset impleri, quoniam non habet locum res pacis temporibus inquietis, ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsus, ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos Domino præstante conferem cet.

[2] Thus, for instance, Gregory Nazianzene, and Basil the Great, received their education chiefly at Athens, where they studied Rhetoric, Grammar, Mathematics, and Philosophy (in all probability) under Himerius and Proæresius (Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* XLIII. 14 sqq.); Gregory also at Alexandria, and Basil in Cæsarea and Constantinople.

[3] Monachos quoque—Siricius enjoins—quos tamen morum gravitas et vitæ ac fidei institutio sancta commendat, clericorum officiis aggregari et optamus et volumus, ita ut, qui intra tricesimum ætatis annum sunt digni, in minoribus per gradus singulos crescente tempore promoveantur ordinibus, et sic ad diaconatus vel presbyterii insignia maturæ ætatis consecratione perveniant; nec statim saltu ad episcopatus culmen ascendant cet.—A law of Arcadius in *Cod.*

it was not unusual for those who intended to follow a spiritual calling to take up their abode with some learned and experienced clergyman, in the hope of acquiring from him the necessary learning and experience. For this purpose the house of a bishop was generally preferred, and especially of that particular bishop from whom the candidate was seeking ordination, and under whose eye he was about to pass through the different grades of the ministry. This was the prevailing practice in the West (see can. 1, *Concil. Vasense* [of Vaison], A.D. 529[1]), and the zeal and learning of an Augustin in his so-called *Monasterium Clericorm* laboured to make this custom profitable, by rendering it really thorough and comprehensive (Augustin, *Sermo* CCCLV. § 2, compared with Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, c. ii. § 21, 22, and c. iii.).

Theodos. XVI. 2, 32, expressly orders: Si quos forte episcopi desse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt.

[1] Hoc enim placuit, ut omnes presbyteri, qui sunt in parochiis constituti, secundum consuetudinem, quam per totam Italiam satis salubriter teneri cognovimus, juniores lectores, quantoscunque sine uxore habuerint, secum in domo, ubi ipsi habitare videntur, recipiant, et eos quomodo boni patres spiritualiter nutrientes psalmos parare, divinis lectionibus insistere et in lege Domini erudire contendant, ut et sibi dignos successores provideant et a Domino præmia æterna accipiant.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

CHURCH COMMUNION IN ITS OUTWARD MANIFESTATIONS.

SECT. XVII.—CHURCH COMMUNION.

THAT spirit of Church Communion which personally it was so difficult to realize in all its fulness, led to an attempt to exhibit it by the means of writing and an interchange of letters between the several local churches. At a very early date we find distant churches communicating to each other the story of their sufferings and their fortunes. Thus in the 2nd Century we have the Gallican writing to those of Asia Minor (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 ff.); that of Smyrna to the Church of Pontus (Euseb. *ib.* iv. 15); and others likewise. It was chiefly by such means that the New Testament Scriptures became known throughout the whole Church. The cause, however, which first gave rise in the Church to the adoption of public letters in the Church is a painful one. The abuse of Christian hospitality by strangers (and occasionally by strangers pretending to be clergymen), induced the bishops to give letters commendatory to those who were about to travel (*litera, epistolæ formatæ, communicatoriæ*, γράμματα τετυπωμένα, κοινωνικά, κανονικά, and also εἰρηνικά, συστατικά, &c.), and that, too, at so early a date that they are required by the *Canones Apostol.* c. xxxii.[1], and also the *Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 58[2]. In order to guard against falsification (complaints of which are made even by Dionysius of Corinth, in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23[3], and by Cyprian, *Epist.* iii.[4]), they

[1] Μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ διακόνων ἄνευ συστατικῶν προσδέχεσθαι.

[2] Εἰ δέ τις ἀπὸ παροικίας ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἐπέλθῃ, σύστασιν ἐπικομιζόμενοι.

[3] Ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιωσάντων με γράψαι, ἔγραψα. καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες.

[4] Legi etiam alias literas, in

were drawn up in a stated form, which comprised among other things a declaration of the time in which, as ordered by the Church, the next celebration of Easter would fall, and other similar matters (*Concil. Carthag.* A.D. 407, can. 12[1]). And a regulation of Atticus (who in the 5th Century was bishop of Constantinople), which, however, is not free from suspicion, and which pretends to rest on the authority of the Council of Nice (Baronius, *Annales*, 325 A.D. § 162), describes the authoritative form as rendered extremely complicated by the use of a particular cypher. The name of the giver of the letter and of the person to whom it was granted, and such matters, as well as the names of the Holy Trinity and the Apostle Peter, were to be indicated by the numbers corresponding to the Greek letters; and the sum of some of them was also to be set down[2]. A particular species of these *literæ formatæ* were those given by the *episcopi primæ sedis* to their suffragans as a

quibus nec quis scripserit, nec ad quos scriptum sit, significanter expressum est, et quoniam me in iisdem literis et scriptura et sensus et chartæ ipsæ quoque moverunt, ne quid ex vero vel subtractum sit vel imminutum, eandem ad vos epistolam authenticam remisi, ut recognoscatis, an ipsa sit, quam Crementio hypodiacono perferendam dedistis. Perquam etenim grave est, si epistolæ clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est.

[1] Formatæ autem, quæ a primatibus vel a quibuscunque episcopis clericis propriis dantur, habeant diem paschæ; quodsi adhuc ejusdem anni paschæ dies incertus est, ille præcedens adjungatur, quomodo solet post consulatum in publicis gestis adscribi.

[2] Græca elementa literarum numeros etiam exprimere, nullus, qui vel tenuiter græci sermonis notitiam habet, ignorat. Ne igitur in faciendis epistolis canonicis, quas mos latinus formatas appellat, aliqua fraus falsitatis temere præsumeretur, hoc a patribus CCCXVIII Nicææ congregatis saluberrime inventum est et constitutum, ut formatæ epistolæ hanc calculationis seu supputationis habeant rationem: *i. e.* ut assumantur in supputationem prima græca elementa Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, *h. e.* II. Y. A., quæ elementa et octogenarium et quadringentesimum et primum significant numerum; Petri quoque apostoli prima litera, *i. e.* II, quæ numerum octoginta significat; ejus quoque, qui scripsit epistolam, prima litera; cui scribitur, secunda litera; accipientis tertia litera; civitatis quoque, de qua scribitur, quarta; et indictionis, quæcunque est, ejusdem temporis idem qui fuerit numerus assumatur. Atque ita his omnibus græcis literis, quæ numeros exprimunt, in unum ductis, unam, quæcunque collecta fuerit, summum epistola teneat. Hanc qui suscipit, omni cum cautela exquirat expresse. Addat præterea separatim ἀμήν, Amen, quod in epistola nonagesimum et nonum numerum secundum græca elementa significat.

permission to travel (*Concil. Carthagin.* iii. A.D. 397, can. 28[1]). Latterly we also meet with other kinds of public letters of the Church: such as circular letters to the bishops of a diocese, on occasion of the accession of a new bishop, γράμματα ἐνθρονιστικά, as for instance those in Evagrius (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 4); ecclesiastical calendars of the festivals, γράμματα πανηγυρικά, or ἑορταστικά, as those especially which the Alexandrian bishops published for the purpose of determining the celebration of Easter (*libelli paschales*, cf. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 20, on the practice of Dionysius of Alexandria in this regard); dimissory letters for the clergy (*literæ dimissoriæ*, γράμματα ἀπολυτικά, *Concil. Trull.* can. 17); commendatory letters of several kinds, *epistolæ commendatitiæ*, ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί; circular letters from bishops for the announcement of new laws, and the like, ἐπιστολαὶ ἠγκυκλιοί, *circulares tractoriæ*, and many others.

2 The individual feeling of the communion of the saints was as yet a true and real thing; and in order still more to invigorate and animate this feeling synods were constantly held[2], after the example of the Apostles' times (Acts xv.). The first of these synodal assemblies in single provinces that we meet with was held in Asia, towards the middle of the 2nd Century, in consequence of the Montanistic excesses (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 16[3]). The next was occasioned by the disputes about Easter (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23[4]). From the beginning of the 3rd Century we find them held regularly at stated periods in Greece (Tertullian, *de Jejuniis*, c. xiii.[5]) Soon afterwards this became the prac-

[1] Item placuit, ut episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur, nisi consulto primæ sedis episcopo suæ cujusque provinciæ, ut ab eo præcipue possint sumere formatam. Hinc etiam dirigendæ literæ concilii ad transmarinos episcopos.

[2] See especially Fuchs, *Bibliothek der Kirchenversammlungen.* Lpz. 1780. Th. i. s. 1—271.

[3] Τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους λόγους ἐξετασάντων καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφηνάντων καὶ ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώσθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἴρχθησαν.

[4] Σύνοδοι...ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τ' αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο.

[5] Aguntur per Græcias illas certis in locis concilia et universis ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur et ipsa repræsentatio totius nominis

tice in other places likewise. In Northern Africa we find traces as early as 200 A.D. of a Carthaginian synod (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXXI.[1] and LXXIII.[2]), and by the middle of the 3rd Century this meeting had become a regular institution (Cyprian, *Epist.* XL. LII.). The contemporary bishop, Firmilian, of Cappadocia (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXXV.), speaks of the same custom as being the established rule of his own province[3]. In the earliest notices that we meet with of such synods, we find that a considerable body of the laity from the several churches were also present[4] at them, but that they did not, however, take any active part in the deliberations. (See the *Sententia Episcoporum*, LXXXVII. *de Hæreticis Baptic.* in Cypriani *Opp.*[5], and *Concil. Illiberit.* A.D. 305, *præfatio*[6]). Ultimately, however, all participation in the councils was confined to the clergy[7]; not, however, to the bishops alone at first, for for awhile they were open to priests also, and even to deacons, as clearly appears from the two passages already quoted, and also from the accounts we have of the Roman synod in the matter of Novatian (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43[8]), as well as from other data[9]. Thus

christiani magna veneratione celebratur. Et hoc quam dignum, fide auspicante congregari undique ad Christum!—Conventus autem illi, he proceeds to say, giving a more exact description of them, stationibus prius et jejunationibus operati, dolere cum dolentibus et ita demum congaudere gaudentibus norunt cet.

[1] Quod quidem et Agrippinus, bonæ memoriæ vir (bishop of Carthage), cum ceteris coepiscopis suis, qui illo in tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia ecclesiam Domini gubernabant, statuit et librato consilii communis examine firmavit.

[2] Convenientes in unum episcopi plurimi hoc statuebant.

[3] Necesse apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus ad dispondenda ea, quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt, ut, si quæ graviora sunt, communi consilio dirigantur.

[4] Not merely the confessors, who are mentioned by Cyprian, *Epist.* 86, as honorary members of the synods.

[5] Cum in unum Carthagini convenissent episcopi plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, cum presbyteris et diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte.

[6] Residentibus etiam viginti et sex presbyteris, adstantibus diaconibus et omni plebe, episcopi dixerunt cet.

[7] That however, as late as the 7th century, the laity were not entirely excluded, we see from the fourth canon of the fourth council of Toledo, which will be presently quoted (p. 84).

[8] συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης, ἑξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων, πλειόνων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων.

[9] Origen as priest was present at two Arabian synods (Euseb. *H.*

too, the first and normal synod of all other (Acts xv. 6) was composed only of the Apostles and Elders, without the participation of the other members of the Church[1], although no doubt their conclusions were not taken and published without the concurrence of the whole community (Acts xv. 22. 23[2]). In the greater synods—and generally in later times—in obedience to the Nicene canon, and in accordance with the *Canones Apostol.* c. xxxvi.[3], it was no doubt almost inevitable that bishops should alone have a voice in their deliberations, although occasionally even after this time not only presbyters and deacons [some of the latter indeed were officially necessary], but also the laity were allowed to take a part in them[4]. The more important resolutions of these synods were then communicated to the distant churches by the *Epistolæ Synodicæ*, after the type of the apostolical letter in Acts xv. 22, &c. And with full reason might a council gathered together and deliberating in a right spirit—the spirit of the apostolical synod (see especially ver. 28 of Acts xv.[5])—make a boast of being supported by the Holy Ghost, even though the form in which many synods of the 3rd and 4th Centuries expressed this conviction, begins even at that early date to shew a tendency to extravagance and bombast[6].

E. VI. 33, 37), and in the synod of Antioch not only did the priest Malchion take a very active part, but the synodal letter of this council is written in the names of the priests and deacons there present, as well as of the bishops. So too, some members of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, and in that of Nice, 325, were not bishops.

[1] Συνήχθησαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου.

[2] Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ...γράψαντες...τάδε· οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κ.τ.λ.

[3] The 5th canon of the Council of Nice enacts that none but bishops should vote at the provincial synods in their half-yearly meetings: so too the *Canon. Apost.* require the presence of none but bishops at these synods. See the passages, below, p. 83, note 2.

[4] See especially the regulations of the *Concil. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633 (below, page 84).

[5] So the Apostolical Synod (and it indeed with full right) declared: ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν.

[6] A letter from the Synod of Carthage, A.D. 252, addressed to the Roman Church (Cyprian, Epist. LIV. *de Lapsis*), runs thus: Placuit nobis, Sancto Spiritu suggerente et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente. The Synod of Arles (Arelate) A.D. 314: Placuit ergo, præsente Spiritu

In the course of the 4th Century the form and laws of general councils gradually assumed a shape which continued throughout the following Centuries more or less pure, according as the hierarchical element was more or less refined and animated by a true Christian feeling. By the purifying process of the Reformation, it too has been once more restored to a character of free evangelical intercommunion, in the true medium between the hierarchico-monarchical, or hierarchico-aristocratical assumption of Roman Catholics, and of the Greek and Russian-Greek Church, with at the same time its pseudo-evangelico-political elements, and the hierarchico-democratical assumptions of a Calvinistic, and alas! occasionally also of a "Lutheran," Puritanism, Congregationalism, and modern Presbyterianism.

Subsequently to the 4th Century there have appeared three kinds of synods in the Church.

a. What were first of all held, provincial synods, called together at regular seasons; *e. g.* in Northern Africa in Cyprian's time immediately after Easter (Cyprian, *Epist.* XL.[1]), and according to the *Canones Apostol.* c. xxxvi., and *Concil. Nicæn.* can. 5, twice every year[2], and summoned

Sancto et angelis ejus. Still later, *Concil. Œcum. Ephes.*: Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὥρισε διὰ τῆς παρούσης ἁγιωτάτης συνόδου. On the other hand, the Synod of Arles in 445 simply says: Placuit nobis, Spiritu Sancto ut credimus gubernante.

[1] Ut repræsenter vobis post paschæ diem cum collegis meis, quibus præsentibus secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum et omnium nostrum commune consilium, sicut semel placuit, ea, quæ agenda sunt, disponere pariter et limare poterimus.

[2] Δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους. *Canones Apost.* provide—σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπτουσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν· ἅπαξ μὲν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, δεύτερον δὲ ὑπερβερεταίου δωδεκάτῃ. According to this the first of these yearly synods ought to be held midway between Easter and Whitsuntide, and the second in October; and this regulation is likewise made by *Concil. Antiochen.* a. 341, can. 20: (Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας...καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε συνόδους καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους· ἅπαξ μὲν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἑβδομάδα τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, ὥστε τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον...τὴν δὲ δευτέραν σύνοδον γίνεσθαι ἴδοις Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἥτις ἐστὶ δεκάτη ὑπερβερεταίου). The Council of Nice, on the other hand, enacts that the first should be held before Lent and the other in Autumn: (Καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δὶς τοῦ

by the presiding metropolitan (*Concil. Antiochen.* can. 20, A.D. 341[1]), or, as in Northern Africa, by the *episcopus primæ sedis, primas, senex,* and with authority to decide on all matters relating to the constitution of the Church, its discipline, its worship, and doctrine[2]. These synods appear in some respects to have been a court before which both clergy and laity could accuse their bishop himself (see *Concil. Antioch.* can. 20[3]). The form of proceeding before these provincial synods is set forth especially by the *Concil. Toletanum* iv., A.D. 633, can. 4[4].

ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι, ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοιτο... αἱ δὲ σύνοδοι γινέσθωσαν μία μὲν πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρουμένης τὸ δῶρον καθαρὸν προσφέρηται τῷ Θεῷ, δευτέρα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ μετοπώρου καιρόν).

[1] ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς ἐπαρχιώτας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει ... μὴ ἐξεῖναι δέ τινας καθ' ἑαυτοὺς συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἄνευ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς μητροπόλεις.

[2] Doctrinal decrees are σύμβολον, all others κανόνες.

[3] ὥστε ἐν αὐταῖς ταύταις ταῖς συνόδοις προϊέναι πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἠδικῆσθαι νομίζοντας καὶ παρὰ συνόδου ἐπικρίσεως τυγχάνειν. For more on the jurisdiction of the synods over the bishops see cann. 14, 15. That this right to bring complaints against them belonged also to laymen, is expressly asserted by *Concil. Tolet.* iv. c. 4.

[4] Hora igitur prima diei ante solis ortum ejiciantur omnes ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cuncti ad unam januam, per quam sacerdotes ingredi oportet, ostiarii stent; et convenientes omnes episcopi pariter introeant et secundum ordinationis suæ tempora resideant. Post ingressum omnium episcoporum atque consessum vocentur deinde presbyteri, quos causa probaverit introire. Nullus se inter eos ingerat diaconorum. Post hos ingrediantur diaconi probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse; et corona facta de sedibus episcoporum presbyteri a tergo eorum resideant. Diacones in conspectu episcoporum stent. Deinde ingrediantur laici, qui electioni concilii interesse meruerunt. Ingrediantur quoque et notarii, quos ad recitandum vel excipiendum ordo requirit, et obserentur januæ. Sedentesque in diuturno silentio sacerdotes, et cor totum ab Deum habentes, dicat archidiaconus: Orate. Statimque omnes in terra prostrabuntur, et orantes diutius tacite cum fletibus atque gemitibus unus ex episcopis senioribus surgens orationem palam fundat ad Dominum, cunctis adhuc in terra jacentibus. Finita autem oratione et responso ab omnibus Amen, rursus dicat archidiaconus: Erigite vos. Et confestim omnes surgant et cum omni timore Dei et disciplina tam episcopi quam presbyteri sedeant. Sicque omnibus in suis locis in silentio considentibus, diaconus alba indutus, codicem canonum in medio proferens, capitula de conciliis agendis pronuntiet. Finitisque titulis metropolitanus episcopus consilium alloquatur dicens: Ecce, sanctissimi sacerdotes, recitatæ sunt ex canonibus sanctorum patrum sententiæ de concilio celebrando; si qua igitur quempiam

b. The diocesan or patriarchal synods, which grew out of the union of several of these provincial synods—the synods of a whole patriarchate (*Concil. Œcum.* ii. can. 6[1]), over which the patriarch presided. Such were the synods of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and, as being tolerably analogous thereto, the synods of the whole free Church of North Africa, which was independent of all patriarchal supremacy, *concilia plenaria Africæ* at Carthage.

c. The general councils which were summoned for the whole Roman empire—the whole *οἰκουμένη*—*σύνοδοι οἰκουμενικαί*, *Concilia Universalia Generalia*, the first of which was confessedly that of Nice, A. D. 325. An imperial edict (*sacra imperatoria*, *θεῖον γράμμα*, *ἡ σάκρα*[2]) summoned for some definite epoch[3] the patriarchs and metropolitans, by whom again the bishops were convened. They travelled at the Emperor's expense[4]. The council was usually opened by reading, by presbyters or deacons, or sometimes even by the Emperor's secretaries[5], the Imperial Edicts, and such instructions, petitions, and other documents, as might be necessary for the inquiry, and for

vestrum actio commovet, coram suis fratribus proponat. Tunc si aliquis quamcunque querelam, quæ contra canonem agit, in audientia sacerdotali protulerit, non prius ad aliud transeatur capitulum, nisi primum quæ proposita est actio terminetur. Nam et si presbyter aliquis aut diaconus, clericus sive laicus de iis, qui foris steterint, concilium pro qualibet re crediderint appellandum, ecclesiæ metropolitanæ archidiacono causam suam intimet, et ille concilio denuntiet. Tunc illi et introeundi et proponendi licentia concedatur. Nullus autem episcoporum a coetu communi secedat, antequam hora generalis secessionis adveniat. Concilium quoque nullus solvere audeat, nisi fuerint cuncta determinata; ita ut, quæcunque deliberatione communi finiuntur, episcoporum singulorum manibus subscribantur. Tunc enim Deus suorum sacerdotum concilio interesse credendus est, si tumultu omni abjecto sollicite atque tranquille ecclesiastica negotia terminentur.

[1] Εἰ συμβαίη ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἐπαρχιώτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτοὺς προσιέναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλουμένων.

[2] That generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas sedi apostolicæ b. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita, was first maintained A.D. 587, by Pelagius II. of Rome (Epist. 8).

[3] For instance, the Ephesian Synod *κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς ἁγίας πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραν.*

[4] Cf. Euseb. *Vita Const.* III. 6. u. a. St.

[5] Σηκρητάριος τοῦ θείου κονσιστωρίου.

opening and entering upon the business in question. In the midst of the assembly a copy of the Gospels was usually placed (*Concil. Ephesi. Œcum.* Act. i.[1], and *Chalced. Œcum.* Act. iv. 12[2]). The president (who was elected either upon the emperor's nomination, or in consequence of his circumstances and position, or by the votes of the assembly,) was assisted by the imperial commissioners, guided the deliberations of the assembly, prepared the resolutions, and took the votes for the final decision, ὅρος[3]. Ecclesiastical notaries took notes of the discussions[4]; all the bishops, or the priests who represented them, subscribed not only the whole but also each of the more important canons. These *gesta* or ὑπομνήματα were usually sent to the emperor, with a request that he would ratify them. He dismissed the council, and enforced its resolutions.

After the schism had taken place between the East and the West, the universal synods were turned into papal general councils of the Lateran, or of some place or other of the Western Church; and it was only transiently, through the temporary influence of favourable circumstances, that the general councils of the West obtained occasionally supremacy over the Pope. The Tridentine Council was the last universal synod of the West, and formed as it were the key-stone of the Contra-reformation.

The σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα was a peculiar kind of synod, of which mention frequently occurs in the history of the Eastern Church. It was composed of such bishops as from

[1] Προκειμένου τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου...καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν παρόντα τὸν Χριστὸν δεικνύοντος.

[2] The commissaries at this synod refer the bishops to it.

[3] In the matter of laws and ordinances the decision generally rested in fact with the majority, whereas questions of faith required unanimity for their determination. In many cases, however, the latter was practically only apparent, inasmuch as the one party either submitted to the other, or else was excommunicated as heretical. Highly significant and characteristically distinctive of ancient synods (owing to the caricature imitation of them in modern days) is the principle on which the former proceeded—that, viz. difference of doctrine was inconsistent with the unity of the Church, and that a council of the Church out of the pale of the one faith of the Church, was a thing not to be thought of.

[4] A distinction was drawn between ὑπομνήματα αὐθεντικὰ (those written out at the synod itself) and ἀντίγραφα.

different causes might be staying at Constantinople; such for instance as that which drew up resolutions, A.D. 448, under the presidency of the Patriarch Flavian.

SECT. XVIII.—ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POORER BRETHREN.

From the very first it was a characteristic peculiarity of the Christian fellowship, that it exhibited a merciful care and provision for the temporal no less than for the spiritual welfare of its members.

1 In temporal matters the whole Church provided for the wants of the poor and the sick, for the prisoner, and for the stranger, for the widow and the orphan, &c., for all its members, but especially for the confessors and martyrs (see Justin M. *Apolog.* i. c. 6[1], and Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxxix.[2]). This was done by means either of collections expressly for the purpose, or from the general alms of the Church, and also by other and still more personal means. In these works of charity noble bishops led the way by their stimulating example (Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxvi.[3]). Women especially were distinguished by their personal labours and services (Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, l. ii. c. 4, 8[4]). And the

[1] Οἱ εὐποροῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βούλεται, δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel cum velit et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Hæc quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde ...egenis alendis humandisque et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis jamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis et si qui in metallis et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, cet.

[3] Viduarum et infirmorum et omnium pauperum curam peto diligenter habeatis. Sed et peregrinis, si qui indigentes fuerint, sumptus suggeratis de quantitate mea propria, quam apud Rogatianum compresbyterum nostrum dimisi. Quæ quantitas ne forte jam universa erogata sit, misi eidem aliam portionem, ut largius et promptius circa laborantes fiat operatio.

[4] Quis autem (says Tert. c. 4, of a heathen husband with a Christian wife) sinat conjugem suam visitandorum fratrum gratia vicatim aliena et quidem pauperiora quæque tuguria circuire?...

charity of the several churches was not confined merely to the poor of their own congregation, but those of foreign churches were cared for, by collections made by the clergy, assisted by laymen (cf. Cyprian, *Epist.* LX.[1]). In this work of charity the Roman Church earned for itself especial love and esteem (cf. Dionys. Corinth. in Euseb. *H. E.* c. iv. 23[2], and Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* c. vii. 5). Moreover, in all great public calamities, the very heathens were made partakers of these proofs of Christian benevolence. An instance of this kind is recorded in the *Vita Cypriani per Pontium*, on occasion of the plague at Carthage, A.D. 251[3], and another is afforded by a similar occurrence at Alexandria during the episcopacy of Dionysius (see Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 22). The charity of the Church assumed a definite form and shape when in the 4th Century she arrived at full external liberty. After this

quis in carcerem ad osculanda vincula martyris reptare patietur?... Si pereger frater adveniat, quod in aliena domo hospitium? Si cui largiendum erit, horreum, proma præclusa sunt. Whereas, on the contrary, when both parties were Christian, libere æger visitatur, indigens sustentatur, eleemosynæ sine tormento by the wife.

[1] For the purpose of ransoming Numidian Christians who were in bondage, Cyprian wrote to the bishops of Numidia: Misimus autem sestertia centum millia nummorum, quæ in ecclesia, cui præsumus, cleri et plebis collatione collecta sunt, quæ vos illic pro vestra diligentia dispensabitis. Et optamus quidem nihil tale de cetero fieri, et fratres nostros Domini majestate protectos ab ejusmodi periculis incolumes reservari. Si tamen acciderit, nolite cunctari nunciare hæc nobis literis vestris, pro certo habentes, ecclesiam nostram et fraternitatem istic universam ne hæc ultra fiant precibus orare, si facta fuerint libenter et largiter subsidia præstare. Similarly, according to Socrates, *H. E.* VII. 25, Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, sent to the relief of a poor foreign church τριακοσίους χρυσίνους.

[2] Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, κ.τ.λ.

[3] Horrere omnes, fugere, vitare contagium....Jacebant tota civitate non jam corpora, sed cadavera plurimorum, et misericordiam in se transeuntium contemplatione sortis mutuæ flagitabant....Aggregatam primo in loco uno plebem de misericordiæ bonis instruit (Cyprianus), docens divinæ lectionis exemplis...Tunc deinde subjungit, non esse mirabile, si nostros tantum debito caritatis obsequio foveremus; eum perfectum posse fieri, qui plus aliquid publicano vel ethnico fecerit, qui malum bono vincens et divinæ clementiæ instar exercens inimicos quoque dilexerit....Distributa sunt ergo continuo pro qualitate hominum atque ordinum ministeria. And in this way was the city of the persecutors delivered.

date[1] ecclesiastical institutions of some kind or other, for the relief of the poor (*πτωχοτροφεῖα*, &c.), were to be seen in every place; so that even the Emperor Julian thought the Christians worthy of imitation in this respect (*Epist.* xxix.[2]). Such were the houses for the sick (*νοσοκομεῖα*, *valetudinaria*), for the aged (*γηροκομεῖα*), for orphans (*ὀρφανοτροφεῖα*), for foundlings (*βρεφοτροφεῖα*), for the lodging and entertainment of strangers (*ξενῶνες*, *ξενοδοχεῖα*, *xenodochia*)—the latter especially in cloisters (cf. Palladii *Historia Lausiaca*, c. vi.[3], and similar works). Moreover the spiritual wants of these several parties were provided for by the appointment of special clergymen in all of them, who, as was natural, were subject to the bishops (*Concil. Œcum. Chalced.* can. 8[4]). In the foundation of such benevolent institutions St Basil the Great had preceded the bishops by his example. (See the simple apologetic relation in Basil, *Epist.* xciv.[5] compared with the description of these institutions in Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx. p. 359[6]). In the beginning of the 5th Century the example of Basil found many imitators among the bishops, and, above all, in Chrysostom. Pallad. *Vita Chrysostomi*, p. 19[7]. In the West, on the contrary, it was chiefly by private indi-

[1] However, it was only the name that was new, for thus says St Augustin, *Tract.* 97 *in Joh.* c. iv.: Xenodochia postea sunt appellata novis nominibus, res tamen ipsæ et ante nomina sua erant et religionis veritate firmantur.

[2] He here commands Arsacius: *ξενοδοχεῖα καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν κατάστησον, κ.τ.λ.*; for in the *Fragmentum*, p. 305, he appeals to the fact that *οἱ δυσσεβεῖς γαλιλαῖοι ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Speaking of the monks of Nitra, he says: *πρόσκειται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ξενοδοχεῖον, εἰς ὃ τὸν ἀπελθόντα ξένον δεξιοῦνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, κἂν ἐπὶ διετίαν ἢ τριετίαν μεῖναι θελήσῃ, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] *Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων.*

[5] *Τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦμεν, καταγώγια τοῖς ξένοις οἰκοδομοῦντες, τοῖς τε κατὰ πάροδον ἐπιφοιτῶσι, καὶ τοῖς θεραπείας τινὸς διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν δεομένοις; καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τούτοις παραμυθίαν ἐγκαθιστῶντες, τοὺς νοσοκομοῦντας, τοὺς ἰατρεύοντας;...τούτοις ἀνάγκη καὶ τέχνας ἔπεσθαι, τάς τε πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίας, καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς εὐσχήμονα βίου διαγωγὴν ἐφευρέθησαν· οἶκους πάλιν ἑτέρους ταῖς ἐργασίαις ἐπιτηδείους.*

[6] *Μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρόελθε, καὶ θεάσαι τὴν καινὴν πόλιν, τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ταμεῖον· ...ἐν ᾧ νόσος φιλοσοφεῖται καὶ συμφορὰ μακαρίζεται καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς δοκιμάζεται, κ.τ.λ.*

[7] His practice was perfectly in conformity with his words, Hom. 45 *in Acta App.*: *ἐστὶ κοινὸν οἴκημα ἡ ἐκκλησία.*

viduals, and that not before the time of St Jerome, that such buildings were first erected. (Hieron. *Epist.* LIV—LXXXIV.[1]). But in these parts also the bishops took upon themselves the special care of the afflicted—a Leo the Great, for instance—see his *Sermo* v.[2], &c.; and not only did they vie with each other in maintaining them out of the revenues of the Church, as was the universal practice of all (Chrysostom, *Homil.* LXVI. *in Matth.*[3]), but worthy bishops, in very urgent cases, exhibited the greatest self-denial on their own parts, employing every means—even to the selling of the costly vessels of the church, in order to relieve the pressing need (cf. Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 25[4]; Socrat. *H. E.* vii. 21[5]; Ambros. *de Officiis Minist.* ii. 15. 28, and *Augustini Vita per Possidium*, c. LII.[6]; Victor Vitensis, *de Persecutione Vandal.* i. 8[7], &c.). In the 4th

[1] Audio te—writes Jerome, *Ep.* 54, to Pammachius—xenodochium in portu fecisse Romano et virgam de arbore Abraham in Ausonio plantasse littore: and *Ep.* 84, to Oceanus: Prima omnium (Fabiola) νοσοκομεῖον instituit, in quo ægrotantes colligeret de plateis et consumpta languoribus atque inedia miserorum membra foveret.

[2] Ventura—he says to the congregation—dominica dies, collectarum futura est. Hortor et moneo sanctitatem vestram, ut singuli quique et pauperum memineritis et vestri, et pro possibilitate virium vestrarum intelligatis in egentibus Christum, qui tantum nobis pauperes commendavit, ut se in ipsis vestiri ac suscipi testaretur.

[3] Ἐπιδήσον, ὅσαις ἐπαρκεῖ (ἡ ἐκκλησία) καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χήραις, ὅσαις παρθένοις...Μετὰ τούτων τοῖς τὸ ξεσωτήριον οἰκοῦσι, τοῖς ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ κάμνουσι, τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι...καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην.

[4] He mentions of Cyril of Jerusalem, that in a scarcity and famine, ἐπεὶ δὲ χρήματα οὐκ ἦν, οἷς ἐπικουρεῖν εἶχεν, κειμήλια καὶ ἱερὰ καταπετάσματα ἀπέδοτο.

[5] After mentioning 7000 prisoners taken by the Persians, he relates how Acacius, bishop of Amida, συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς ὑφ' αἱτῷ κληρικοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔφη· ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν οὔτε εἴσκων, οὔτε ποτηρίων χρῄζει· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πολλὰ κειμήλια χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἡ ἐκκλησία...κέκτηται, προσήκει ἐκ τούτων ῥύσασθαί τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ διαθρέψαι αὐτούς. And what he said he did.

[6] St Ambrose and St Augustin, according to this passage, acted in the same manner.

[7] He relates of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, in the middle of the fifth century, that on the occasion of an inroad of the Vandals: Statim sategit universa ministerii vasa aurea vel argentea distrahere, et libertatim de servitute barbarica liberare, et ut conjugia fœderata manerent et pignora genitoribus redderentur; and then goes on to mention other of the bishop's works: (Quia loca nulla sufficiebant ad capessendam multitudinem tantam, basilicas duas cum lectulis atque straminibus deputavit...Non par-

Century special officers were appointed in the Church, who were to devote themselves to the care of the sick; they were called παραβολανοί, *parabolani*[1], (from παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν ζωήν). The number of these personages appears to have been considerable. In the *Codex Theodos.* xvi. 2. 42, the number of them at Constantinople is set down at from 500 to 600[2]. Their ministrations however were often voluntarily performed by Christian females, even by princesses and empresses (according to the *Acta Sanctor.* T. iii. Aug. p. 70, by Radegundis, Clothaire's first queen, who lived about the end of the 6th Century[3]; and, according to Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 19, by Priscilla also, wife of Theodosius the Great[4]). The example of the Church (unfortunately constantly contracted in later times within a closer and more immediate circle—in the Roman Church by means of the monkish establishments, and in the Protestant Churches by means of voluntary associations) was imitated by the State, if not by direct institutions, yet by the confirmation and encouragement it granted, and the privileges it conferred on such institutions. (See *Codex Theodos.* v. 5, 2; *Cod. Justinian.*[5] 1, 3, 25, 46, &c.)

On this subject, see J. Launoius, *De Cura Veteris Ecclesiæ pro Miseris et Pauperibus.* Par. 1663, 8vo; L. A. Muratori, *Della Carita Cristiana.* Sien. 1789, 2 Vols. 8vo; and by the same author, *Disser-*

vus numerus fuerat ægrotorum, quos beatus antistes, ut nutrix pia, per momenta singula sum medicis circumibat sequentibus cibis...Nec nocturnis horis ab hoc opere misericordiæ feriabatur, sed pergebat, excurrens per singulos lectos, scisitans, qualiter quisque se haberet).

[1] Parabolani, qui ad curanda debilium ægra corpora deputantur, is the description of them given in *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 2, 43.

[2] § 42: Eos, qui parabolani vocantur non plus quam quingentos esse præcipimus. § 43 (A.D. 418): P.... quingentos esse ante præcepimus. Sed quia hos minus sufficere in præsenti cognovimus, pro quingentis sexcentos constitui præcipimus...exceptis honoratis et curialibus.

[3] The same as we met with above, § 13, s. 77: consecratam diaconam.

[4] The care of those, says Theodoret, whose severe illness required the most devoted nursing, was not left, οὐκ οἰκέταις, οὐδὲ δορυφόροις ὑπουργοῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτουργὸς γιγνομένη, καὶ εἰς τὰς τούτων καταγωγὰς ἀφικνουμένη καὶ ἑκάστῳ τὴν χρείαν πορίζουσα.

[5] As indeed the Emperor Justinian himself caused hospitals for strangers and for the sick to be built. See Procopius, *De Ædif. Justin.* i. 2. 9. 11.

tatio de Hospitalibus Peregrinorum, Infirmorum, Infantium, etc. in his *Antiquitates Ital. Med. Ævi*, Tom. VIII. Diss. 37. See also other writers. For modern institutions, see T. Chalmers, *The Church's Care for the Poor.* [Translated into German, by Gerlach, Berlin, 1847.]

2 Spiritually the brotherly love of the Church manifested itself principally by its missions to the Heathen. In the first instance, the diffusion of Christianity among the Gentiles proceeded from the apostolical and evangelizing labours of individuals, even when *these* individuals—the Apostles—like the pillars of the temple, were the props of the whole Christian community. It was not until after the close of the 4th Century that any attempt was made to give to the missions of the Church a more stable and systematic character, and to direct to them the general interest of the believers. The honour of making this attempt, while it forms a sad testimony to the fact that the zeal and energy of individuals had ceased to be animated with apostolical purity and energy, belongs to a few eminent bishops. Thus in the West the English mission was founded and organized by Gregory the Great, towards the end of the 6th Century, while in the East St Chrysostom, at the still earlier date of the 5th Century, not only sent forth individual missionaries into different countries, as *e. g.* to Cilicia, but also established grand missionary associations (consisting principally of monks) for Phœnicia, Arabia, and the East of Asia (Chrysos. *Epist.* LI. CXXIII. CXXVI. CCXXI. &c.), and also founded in Constantinople an institution in which Goths might be trained and qualified to preach the Gospel to their fellow-countrymen (see *Homil.* VIII. in Chrysos. *Opp.* ed. Montfaucon, XII. 371 [1]).

[1] St Chrysostom delivered this missionary sermon in the church of St Paul at Constantinople, where Scythian clergymen had first read the Scriptures and had preached in their native tongue. Ἐβουλόμην—are his words therein — παρεῖναι Ἕλληνας τήμερον, ὥστε τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, πόση τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἡ ἰσχὺς, πόση τοῦ σταυροῦ ἡ δύναμις, πόση τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ εὐγένεια, πόση τῆς πίστεως ἡ εὐτονία.... Ποῦ τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις; ἐσβέσθη. ποῦ τὰ τῶν ἀλιέων καὶ σκηνοποιῶν; οὐκ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων γλώττῃ, καθὼς ἠκούσατε σήμερον, ἠλίου φανότερον διαλάμπει· καὶ Σκῦθαι καὶ Θράκες καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Μαῦροι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀπῳκισμένοι τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς οἰκουμέ-

In later times the duty of evangelizing the heathen has depended for its discharge on the varying spirituality and energies of the several parts of the Church, while the ecclesiastical, or the personal, or associated character of the measures designed to promote it, have, more or less, influenced the form of its labours. The former character is impressed on the missionary labours of the unreformed branches, as also among the reformed on those of the English branch of the Church (and indeed on those also of the Moravians). The latter character is impressed on those of all the other reformed Churches. Neither characteristic however constitutes a criterion of the excellence of the thing itself; while, as regards the unecclesiastical form, it can then only be justly pronounced unchurchly in its essence when it is void and barren of a Church spirit, which however (according to Gospel principles) consists not in any external thing, but in the faith and confession of the Church.

Sect. XIX.—CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Cf. J. Morinus, *De Disciplina in Administratione Sacræ Pœnitentiæ.* Par. 1651, fol.

The gravest demonstration of the fellowship of Christians is furnished by the discipline of the Church. In obedience to the apostolical injunction, and by virtue of the power of the Keys, which Christ himself had committed to the Church (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. xix. 20; Gal. i. 8, 9; 1 John ii. 19; 2 John 10; Apoc. ii. 2, 14; and Acts v.), all open offenders in word or deed were cut off from the Communion of the Church, for the sake of maintaining, as much as possible, the holy character of the Christian body, of preserving its members from the contagion of evil example, of stopping evil tongues from without,

νης... φιλοσοφοῦσι... οὐ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλιέων δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐσχὺν τὴν πανταχοῦ προοδοποιοῦσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας τῶν φιλοσόφων σοφωτέρους καὶ τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους καὶ ἰχθύων ἀφωνοτέρους ῥητόρων καὶ λογογράφων καὶ σοφιστῶν εὐτονωτέρους ἀποφαίνουσαν. Μὴ τοίνυν αἰσχύνην τις ἡγείσθω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι βαρβάρους εἰς μέσον ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν παρεσκευάσαμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κόσμος.

and of moving the guilty party to wholesome alarm and penitence. Such as took rightly this ecclesiastical discipline, and were led by it to return to the right way, might be received again into the Communion by the Church[1]. This readmission however of the excommunicated into Church-fellowship depended on the performance of certain penances, and the lapse of certain periods[2] (both of these conditions being designated by *pœnitentia*). At the expiration of the appointed times, and after the performance of the enjoined penance, these fallen brethren were required to deliver in a confession (*exomologesis*, Cyprian, *Epist.* xiv. compared with Tertullian, *de Pœnit* c. ix.), and this must be done before their readmission (*reconciliatio*, *pax*, and also *absolutio*) could be formally declared by the bishop and his clergy[3]. During the troubles and persecutions of the stormy times of St Cyprian, an irregular readmission to Church communion prevailed for a time. Presuming on their sufferings, the *Confessores* ventured at pleasure to restore the *Lapsi*, who had recourse to their good offices, and to procure them the so-called *libellos pacis* (Cyprian, *Epist.* xviii.[4]) This however was only a temporary practice, and in itself was at most an informal and preliminary restoration.

In the Eastern Church, the disputes with the rigorous and strict sect of the Novatians, who were decidedly opposed to the Church ever again receiving into her bosom

[1] It was only a few rigorous parties in the Church that opposed their readmission.

[2] Justum tempus it is called by Cyprian, *Epist.* xi.

[3] Cyprian (*Epist.* xi.) insists in the case of readmission on the imposition of hands, but simply ab episcopo et clero. That it was only the bishop that could act in such cases appears from Cyprian, *Epist.* xii.: (Qui libellos a martyribus acceperunt,...non exspectata præsentia nostra apud presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentiam imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace); and yet it is ordered by *Concil. Carthag.* III. a. 397, c. 32: Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo non reconciliet pœnitentem, nisi absente episcopo et necessitate cogente. And indeed the regulation of Cyprian just quoted, refers only to the general practice in those cases where *libelli pacis* had been received.

[4] A similar regulation is met with in the East about the same date. Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 42.

those who had once fallen, led to the appointment of a clergyman specially entrusted with the penitential discipline of the Church, and entitled πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, *presbyterus pœnitentiarius* (Socrates, *H. E.* v. 19).

Nearly at the same date with this appointment (though perhaps a little earlier) ecclesiastical discipline assumed the shape which it afterwards maintained for a time. It was provided that the penitent brother must proceed through four degrees (*gradus, stationes*) of *pœnitentia* before he could be reinstated in the Church. They are first mentioned—the last three at least—in the 4th canon of the *Concil. Ancyran.* A.D. 314[1], and then again can. 11 of the *Concil. Nicæn. Œcum.*; though at a later date all four are mentioned, and indeed most distinctly, by Basilius M. *Epist.* ccxvii. or *Epist. Canonica*, iii. In each of these stations the penitent had, according to the enormity of his offence, to remain for one or more years[2]. First of all as προσκλαίοντες or *flentes*, the offending sinners had to beg for their readmission into the Church; then as ἀκροώμενοι, *audientes*, they were allowed to be present at the reading of Scriptures and preaching, after which they were permitted to join in the prayers of the Church, but only on their knees, and therefore called at this stage of their penitentiary probation, ὑποπίπτοντες, *substrati*; and last of all they might be present as spectators of the Holy Communion, standing all

[1] According to this canon the penitents must ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.

[2] Naturally the Church's laws on this head were not everywhere and in every instance the same. Thus the regulation of the council of Ancyra above quoted, differs from that of the 11th canon *Concil. Nicæn.*, which considerably prolonged the penitential *stationes*: ("Οσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἕπτα ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν). Basilius, *Ep.* 217, requires that adulterers, τοὺς τοιούτους ἐνιαυτὸν προσκλαίειν, διετίαν ἐπακροᾶσθαι, τριετίαν ὑποπίπτειν· τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ συνίστασθαι τοῖς πιστοῖς, καὶ οὕτω τῆς προσφορᾶς καταξιοῦσθαι. Breakers of their oaths, on the other hand, according to his regulations, must ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσι προσκλαύσαντες, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν ἀκροασάμενοι, καὶ ἐν πέντε ἐν ὑποπτώσει εὐξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἄνευ προσφορᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς προσευχῆς παραδεχθέντες, ... ἀποκαταστήσονται εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

the time; and on this account they were now termed συνιστάμενοι, *consistentes*. This was no doubt a somewhat narrow and stiffly unspiritual, but yet a very solemn form. It did not, however, last above a century.

On the discontinuance of the public penitentiary towards the end of the 4th Century, occasioned by a very grievous circumstance (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 16, compared with Socrates, *H. E.* v. 19), but principally by the inevitable influence of the external circumstance of the Church arising from the growing connexion between Church and State, the previous regulations of the Eastern Church in the matters of discipline came to an end; and while the terms of admission to the Holy Communion became more lax and easier, its reception was more lightly and less solemnly ventured upon.

In the Western Church under the influence of similar circumstances, and at nearly the same date, it became customary to require a public ecclesiastical penance only for special and notorious offences (*e. g. Ambrosius* in the case of the Emperor Theodosius I.[1], conf. also Augustin, *Sermo de Pœnit.* § 9[2]), whereas in other cases private confession to a priest was regarded as sufficient (cf. Augustin, *ibid.* and Leo M. *Epistol.* cxxxvi.[3])

[1] Ambrosius wrote to the Emperor (*Epist.* li.): Noli peccato tuo aliud peccatum addere, ut usurpes, quod usurpasse multis officit; offerre non audeo sacrificium, si volueris assistere; and acted in accordance therewith. Whereupon the emperor at last, according to Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 25, δημοσίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡμολόγησεν, and according to Ambros. *Orat. de obitu Theodosii imp.*: stravit omne, quo utebatur, insigne regium, deflevit in ecclesia publice peccatum suum,...genitu et lacrymis oravit veniam. Quod privati erubescunt, non erubuit imperator, publice agere pœnitentiam.

[2] It is only in very special cases that St Augustin required public penance (ut si peccatum ejus non solum in gravi ejus malo, sed etiam in tanto scandalo aliorum est atque hoc expedire utilitati ecclesiæ videtur antistiti, in notitia multorum vel etiam totius plebis agere pœnitentiam non recuset); in other cases he only requires that veniat ad antistites, per quos illi in ecclesia claves ministrantur, et tanquam bonus jam incipiens esse filius, maternorum membrorum ordine custodito, a præpositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum.

[3] Leo the Great here expressly declares that, reatus conscientiarum sufficiat solis sacerdotibus indicari confessione secreta; since he further afterwards adds: Quia non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata, ut ea, qui pœnitentiam poscunt, non timeant publicare: re-

It is to this system of penance and confession that in the Roman Church there has attached itself an immense and most singular mass of superstitions and abuses—such for instance as the practice and theory of Indulgences, and the tyrannical enforcement of Auricular Confession, &c. which the Reformation first abolished. After the latter event the Evangelical or Lutheran Church adopted a system of ecclesiastical discipline, which, characterised by simple moderation and evangelical liberty, no less than an apostolical earnestness, was founded on the spiritual power of the Keys, and administered in private confession and absolution; whereas on the one hand, in the party opposed to all reformation, the old abuses were but invested with fresh sanctions, while on the other, in the ultra-reforming party, the opposition was carried to such an extreme as to transgress the evangelical and apostolical limits to such a degree as to lose sight altogether of the power of the Keys; and whatever still bore the name and seeming rigour of Church-discipline, was alienated from its true purport and object, and in all essential respects based upon political and democratical ideas.

Church and State, which at the first by a sort of natural law, had stood apart as forming both an internal and an external contrariety (as Christianity and the Heathen world) upon the conversion of Constantine entered not less naturally into certain reciprocal relations. Since that event, these relations have subsisted with varying degrees of intimacy according to the strength or weakness of the ecclesiastical spirit of the Church, and have ultimately become a prey to jealousy and mutual encroachment between the extreme principle of Church-authority as represented by the papacy of the Roman Catholic side, and by the Cesaro-papacy or Erastianism in the Greek-catholic church and Monarchical or Democratical Protestantism. And the dispute seems one which must be left to the Great Future alone to reconcile. These relations, however, do not form fortunately a special subject for our consideration in the exposition of the Church's social state, inasmuch as they had been borne along too violently by the stream of historical events to be fixed archæologically, and as they border too closely, and trench too far upon the provinces of law and politics, to be claimed exclusively for that of theology.

moveatur tam improbabilis consuetudo, ne multi a pœnitentiæ remediis arceantur, dum aut erubescunt, aut metuunt inimicis sua facta reserari, quibus possint legum constitutione perculli.

PART SECOND.

ARCHÆOLOGY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

CHAPTER FIRST.

OF ECCLESIASTICAL PLACES.

Cf. Rud. Hospiniani *Libri V. de Templis, hoc est de origine, progressu, usu et abusu Templorum ac omnino rerum omnium ad templa pertinentium.* Tiguri, 1603, fol., Genev. 1672, f.; J. G. Rossteuscher, *De Templis.* Viteb. 1675. 4; P. Sarnelli, *Antica Basilicografia.* Napol. 1686. 4; G. Whelers, *Relation of the Temples of the primitive Christians.* Lond. 1689; L. A. Muratori, *De primis Christianorum Ecclesiis,* in s. *Opp.* Arezz. 1770. 4, Tom. XII. p. 32 sqq., and *De sacra Basilicarum apud Christianos origine et appellatione, ib.* p. 69 sqq.; J. Fabricii *Oratio de Templis veterum Christianorum.* Helmst. 1704. 4. See also s. 102, note 9.

SECT. XX.—CHURCH-BUILDINGS.

1 THE Gospel was solidly grounded on the revelation of the Old Testament, and was to be preached from the house-tops. Accordingly, the first ordinary place of assembly for the Christians—without excluding private places, such as that which was consecrated and ennobled by the events of the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 1, 2)—was the Temple of Jerusalem, Acts ii. 46. When the Christians *were obliged* to leave the latter, they held their assemblies in private houses, the whole body of the believers either meeting in one house (Rom. xvi. 23[1]), or else in several, as seems intimated by the expression ἡ κατ' οἶκον ἐκκλησία (1 Cor. xvi. 19, 20[2]; Rom. xvi. 5[3]; and Philem. 2, com-

[1] Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος, ὁ ξένος μου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅλης.

[2] Inasmuch as the apostle here distinguishes the "Church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla" from "all the brethren" (ἀσπάζονται

pared with *Acta Mart.* Justini M. § 3[1]). But even as early as the close of the second Century we nevertheless find traces of buildings specially set apart for the service of God (cf. Tertullian, *de Idolol.* c. vii.[2]), although Celsus (in Origen *contra Cels.* viii. p. 389[3]), and the heathen in Minucius Felix[4], still urged it as a reproach against the Christians that they had no temples (*i. e.* in the heathen sense) nor other similar objects. Even in Clemens Alex. *Strom.* l. vii. p. 846[5], these buildings for the service of God are called ἐκκλησίαι—in Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 30, more distinctly οἶκοι ἐκκλησιῶν—and also *dominica* by other writers (*e.g.* in Cyprian, *de Op. et Eleemos.*), κυριακά (*e.g. Concil. Neocæsar.* A. D. 314, can. 5—from which last term, according to Walaf. Strabo, *de Exord. et Increm. Rer. Eccles.* c. vii.[6], comes through the Gothic our word Church, in German Kirche). They were also called προσευκτήρια, and in the 4th Century even *templa* (*e.g.* by Lactant. *Instit. Div.* v. 2), and ναοί (by Eusebius, *H. E.* x. 4[7]), *basilicæ*[8]; and so

ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα σὺν τῇ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες).

[3] Here too is the same distinction between Churches in certain houses and the whole body of Christians; and besides these certain individual Christians are mentioned (ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν...καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαίνετον, κ. τ. λ.)

[1] Being asked by the prefect, ποῦ συνέρχεσθε ἢ εἰς ποῖον τόπον ἀθροίζεις τοὺς μαθητάς σου; Justin in his answer mentions a certain private house, and goes on to add: καὶ οὐ γινώσκω ἄλλην τινὰ συνέλευσιν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐκείνου.—There were therefore elsewhere (it clearly follows) many such private places of assembling in one and the same city.

[2] Ab idolis in ecclesiam venire, de adversarii officina in domum Dei venire.

[3] That the Christians βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἰδρύσθαι φεύγειν.

[4] Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?

[5] Οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ. *On other occasions*, therefore, and *by other writers*, this also was the name of the place (τόπος).

[6] Ab ipsis autem Græcis Kyrch a Kyrios...et alia multa accepimus. Sicut itaque domus Dei Basilica i.e. Regia a Rege, sic etiam Kyrica i.e. Dominica a Domino nuncupatur, quia Domino dominantium et regi regum in illa servitur. Si autem quæritur, qua occasione ad nos vestigia hæc græcitatis advenerit, dicendum, præcipue a Gothis, qui et Getæ, cum eo tempore, quo ad fidem Christi, licet non recto itinere, perducti sunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorantes nostrum i. e. theotiscum sermonem habuerint.

[7] But never fana, delubra.

[8] Partly in the same spiritual

forth. Towards the middle of the third Century such buildings specially dedicated to the worship of God became numerous (cf. Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 46[1], and the edict of Gallienus granting toleration to the Christians, A.D. 260, as given by Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 13[2]); so that by the beginning of the fourth Century grand and magnificent buildings were already to be met with (see Lactantius, *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 12[3]; Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 1[4], and x. 4[5], and other places). Among those who were active in building churches, we must especially mention Constantine the Great[6], who (according to Euseb. *De Vita Constantini*, iii. 48, 50, 51, 53, compared with *de Laudibus Const.* c. 9) caused churches to be built in Antioch, in Nicomedia, in Mambre, Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and several also in Constantinople, especially (Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iv. 58—60) the Apostles' Church there (*τὸ μαρτύριον ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων*). But his most eminent work of this kind (according to Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iii. 25—40, and *de Laud. Const.* c. 9, compared with Cyril Hierosol. *Cateches.* xiv.) was the famous church at the Holy Sepulchre, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσεως*. Moreover, according to a later tradition, Constantine also built several churches in Rome, *e.g.* that of St Paul, St Laurence, and St Agnes. In the same way also the Empress-mother Helena built churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 41).

In the West towards the beginning of the fifth Century

sense as *κυριακά* (see the preceding note), and partly in what was the original civil signification of the word. (Page 101.)

[1] Cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent cet.

[2] Mention is made therein *τῶν τόπων τῶν θρησκευσίμων*.

[3] Lactantius speaking here of the church in Nicomedia, which was pulled down in the Diocletian persecution, says: in alto constructa ex palatio videbatur.

[4] Eusebius is here speaking of the times preceding the Diocletian persecution, when it was possible to number the multitudes who resorted to the churches in every city (*τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις*), on which account the Christians, *μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας*.

[5] Description of the splendid Church at Tyre by Eusebius, who had himself visited it.

[6] Cf. Jo. Ciampini, *Synops. Hist. de Sacris Ædificiis a Constantino M. exstructis*. Rom. 1693. fol.

much was done for church-building by Paulinus bishop of Nola (see espec. *Epist.* xxxii. and *Poem.* 27, 28), but far more by the Emperor Justinian I.[1], who in truth caused a multitude of churches to be erected[2] in honour of the Martyrs, at their burial-places, *μαρτύρια, memoriæ martyrum*, of the saints, and of the Virgin Mary (Θεοτόκος). Among other works of this kind he caused to be rebuilt in great splendour[3] the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople (ἡ σοφία, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ μήτηρ τῆς βασιλείας), which having been founded by Constantine the Great and enlarged by Constantius, was, after having been previously much injured by several fires, totally destroyed in 532 A. D. Not unfrequently did the emperors Constantine, Gratian[4], and others, assign for ecclesiastical purposes many of the finer public buildings, such as the halls originally designed for legal, mercantile, or generally for public business—the so-called Basilicæ (στοαὶ βασιλικαί, στοαί, Basilicæ); and especially by the end of the fourth Century and latterly many even of the heathen temples were transformed into Christian churches (Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 15; Evagrius, *H. E.*; and Venerable Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 4[5]).

2 It was the usual practice to build churches so that the altar should be towards the East and the entrance from the West, although occasionally the contrary arrange-

[1] S. Procopius Cæsar, περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κτισμάτων (*Opp.* Par. 1663. T. II.), especially I. 1 sqq., also V. 1, and other passages.

[2] Of churches in Asia (Procop. V. 1. 9), Justin built several in Jerusalem (*ib.* V. 6). But the greatest number that he built in one place was in Constantinople, the seat of his government (Procop. I. 2 sqq.), where he also undertook to rebuild the Church of the Apostles (*ib.* I. 4), together with the vault of the Imperial family.

[3] Cf. Procop., l. l. I. 1, and Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 31. The Church was reconsecrated A.D. 562, on which occasion the emperor exclaimed: νενίκηκά σε Σαλομών. It is now (as is well known) the principal mosque in Constantinople (Aja Sofia).

[4] Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis, writes Ausonius to the Emperor Gratian, gratiarum actio pro consulatu.

[5] Impetravit—writes Bede of a remarkable, singular instance—papa (Bonifacius IV.) a Focate principe (the Emperor Phocas), donari ecclesiæ Christi templum Romæ, quod Pantheon vocabatur antiquis. In quo ipse eliminata omni spurcitia fecit ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genetricis atque omnium martyrum Christi.

ment occurred (cf. Socrat. *H. E.* v. 22[1]; Paulin. Nolan. *Epist.* xxxii.[2], and Strabo Wal. *de Exord. et Increm. Rer. Eccles.* c. iv.[3]). The most usual form of churches was the oblong (as indeed it is even required by the *Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 57[4]): however, round ones were also built[5], and even octangular (Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iii. 50[6]), and cruciform churches occur (Evagr. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 14[7]). The whole of the rectangular space of the splendid public buildings which were transferred to ecclesiastical purposes, was usually divided into three portions with either a single or with three, and sometimes even five naves[8]; and this architectural arrangement of the Basilicæ determined aforehand the character of the Christian Churches[9].

Originally, as soon as there were special buildings for church-purposes, the arrangements were on a very simple scale. A table, for instance, was placed for the administration of the Holy Communion (*mensa*, τράπεζα, moreover, called already by Tertullian, *de Orat.* c. xiv.[10], and Cyprian, *Epist.* xlii. lxiv., with reference especially to the ministration of the Holy Eucharist, *ara*, *altare*) and a pulpit (*pul-*

[1] He instances it as somewhat singular, that ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀντίστροφον ἔχει τὴν θέασιν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὄψιν ὁρᾷ.

[2] Prospectus basilicæ (one newly built) non, ut usitatior mos est, orientem spectat, sed cet.

[3] Usus frequentior et rationi vicinior habet, in orientem orantes converti, et pluralitatem maximam ecclesiarum eo tenore constitui.

[4] Πρῶτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος ἔστω ἐπιμήκης, κατ' ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος, ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν, ὅστις ἔοικε νηΐ.

[5] So, for instance, Walf. Strabo, l. l., the round church (in rotunditate) erected by the Emperor Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre.

[6] He here mentions a Church in Antioch, οἶκον, ἐν ὀκταέδρου συνεστῶτα σχήματι. Compare, moreover, J. G. Büsching, *Uber die achteckige Gestalt der alten Kirchen, in Der Teutschen Leben, Kunst und Wissen.* Bresl. 1818. Th. I.

[7] Ἡ τοῦ νεὼ οἰκοδομία σύγκειται μὲν σταυροῦ δίκην.

[8] Cf. Vitruv. *de Architect.* v. 1.

[9] On the character of the later mediæval Church Architecture (with which we are not at present concerned), especially in the period of its perfection between the 11th and 13th Centuries, the reader may consult J. Kreuser, *Kölner Dombriefe oder Beiträge zur altchristlichen Kirchenbaukunst.* Berl. 1844; and H. Otte, *Abriss einer kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie des (deutschen) Mittelalt.* Norhh. 1843; also H. Alt, *Der Christl. Cultus.* Berl. 1843. (The second appendix: On the Ecclesiastical style of Architecture).

[10] Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei, steteris?

pitum suggestus; Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxiv.[1]) for the public reading and explanation of Holy Writ.

With the close of the persecutions of the Christians in the Roman Empire, the churches, as they had already become more spacious and more splendid, received also a new internal arrangement. The internal space in particular was, after the model of the basilicæ, generally divided into three principal divisions.

The first was the *πρόναος*, the ante-temple, called also from its shape *ὁ νάρθηξ*, *ferula*[2], into which in larger churches the entrance was by three doors (Paulin. Nolan. *Epist.* xxxii.[3]). This was the place assigned to the catechumens and penitents[4], and also for the non-christian *auditores*[5]. The ante-temple had in *front* of it a large area (*αἴθριον*, *αὐλή*, *atrium*, area), where also stood a vessel of water (*κρήνη*, *φρέαρ*, *φιάλη*, *cantharus*), for symbolical lustration upon entering the church[6].

[1] Quid aliud quum super pulpitum...oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus ... legat præcepta et evangelium Domini.

[2] Figura illius similis esse credebatur ferulæ ...Hinc hæc pars ecclesiæ, cum esset longa quidem, sed angusta, narthex seu ferula appellabatur, is the correct explanation of Bingham, *Origines*, Vol. III. p. 183. See besides, however, Leo Allatius, *De Templis Græcorum recentiorum et de narthece veteris eccl.* Par. 1646.

[3] Alma domus triplici patet ingredientibus arcu.

[4] Of the *ἀκροώμενοι*. The *προσκλαίοντες* first assumed a standing position at these doors.

[5] Therefore in Nilus, *Epist.* l. IV. ep. 61, *κοινὸς οἶκος, πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις οἰκίσκοις διειλημμένος.*

[6] In his particular description of the splendid church at Tyre, Eusebius (*H. E.* x. 4) expressly mentions the *αἴθριον* (which is uncovered, *εἰς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάτοψιν*), and then goes on to add: *ἱερῶν δ' ἐνταῦθα καθαρσίων ἐτίθει σύμβολα, κρήνας, κ.τ.λ.* [That this water was not used for the same lustral and expiatory purposes as the Holy Water in the Romish Church, is clear from the words of Eusebius calling these vessels *Symbols* of Purification; from St Chrysostom's allusion to the people's washing their hands in them before they entered the Church itself (*Hom.* lii. in Matt. 72, in Johan. 3, in Ephes. &c.), and from Tertullian's words, exposing the absurdity of the people coming to pray with washed hands indeed, but with unclean souls (Tertull. *De Orat.* c. 11: Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutes, spiritu vero sordente orationem obire?) Mr Newman (as other Romish writers before him have done) would see in this custom an authority for the modern use of Holy Water in the Roman Church. But there is no account of any blessing of this water; nowhere in Eusebius or any other early writer is it called Holy Water; no internal or spiritual efficacy is ascribed to it; its use is spoken of as purely

The second of the principal divisions of the church was the middle space, into which you entered from the *πρόναος* by the *πύλαι ὡραῖαι* (perhaps so named in allusion to the *θύρα ὡραία*, Acts iii. 2—10). It was called *ὁ ναὸς*, and from its form also *ναῦς*, *navis ecclesiæ*—the place of assembly for all the baptized[1], where the Scriptures were read, the Communion delivered to the members of the Church, and where also the sermon was frequently preached. It was furnished with a pulpit, *ὁ ἄμβων*, primarily intended for the reader and the singers[2]. This nave contained either separate places for the male and female worshippers[3], or else for the women there were galleries (*ὑπερῶα*) on the southern and northern tiers of the columns[4], and also small separate chapels (*φροντιστήρια*) and side galleries for private and silent meditation[5].

The third division was the somewhat higher lying background of the church, divided from the nave by a screen of trellis-work (*κιγκλίδες*, *cancelli*[6]) and by a curtain

external. The learned Du Fresne admits this difference when he speaks of the modern Lustral Water having succeeded in the room of the Symbolical. (*Comm. in Paul. Silentiar.* p. 539.)—Translator's note.]

[1] Also the penitents of the last two classes.

[2] *ἄμβων*, also *βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν*, in Sozomen, *H. E.* VIII. 5; and in the *Concil. Laodic.* can. 15, there is mention *τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων*. However, occasionally they preached from the ambo. For instance, according to Socrates (*H. E.* VI. 5), St Chrysostom was accustomed to do so with the view to being heard the better.

[3] This is required by *Constitutt. Apost.* II. 57, since they order that *αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὗται καθεζέσθωσαν*. (Moreover they go on to require that *ἐὰν ᾖ τόπος*, the younger women and the matrons, should each have their respective places, *αἱ παρθένοι δὲ καὶ αἱ χῆραι καὶ πρεσβύτιδες πρῶται πασῶν στηκέτωσαν ἢ καθεζέσθωσαν*. Similarly also of the males: *οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι ἰδίᾳ καθεζέσθωσαν, ἐὰν ᾖ τόπος· εἰ δὲ μή, στηκέτωσαν ὀρθοί. οἱ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἠδὴ προβεβηκότες καθεζέσθωσαν ἐν τάξει· τὰ δὲ παιδία ἑστῶτα προσλαμβανέσθωσαν αὐτῶν οἱ πατέρες καὶ μητέρες.*)

[4] Thus Gregory Nazianzen describes it in his own Church of the Resurrection in Constantinople (*ἐνύπνιον περὶ τῆς ἀναστασίας ἐκκλησίας*), and Evagrius (*H. E.* IV. 31), of the Church of St Sophia.

[5] Cubicula (says Paulinus Nol. ep. 32, § 12) intra porticus quaterna longis basilicæ lateribus inserta secretis orantium vel in lege Domini meditantium, præterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent.

[6] These *cancelli* subsequently gave the name to our chancels, which first occur in the 13th Century (so that these are not found

(καταπέτασμα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα [Chrysost. *Homil.* iii. *in Ephes.*] *velum*), and called the *βῆμα*[1] (and also τὸ ἅγιον, ἁγίασμα, τὰ ἅγια, *ἱερατεῖον*, *sacrarium*, *sanctuarium*, and also θυσιαστήριον in a wider sense), the place of the clergy[2], and inaccessible to all others, and above all, to women (*Concil. Laodic.* can. 19. 44[3]) and only in the East open to the Emperor (Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 25[4]). It had generally the form of a segment of a circle (on which account it was also called *concha*, *ἱερὰ κόγχη*[5]). Nearly in the middle[6] of it stood the altar (*ἁγία τράπεζα*, θυσιαστήριον, *altare*, *mensa sacra*[7]), and indeed originally a wooden one[8], but even as

in churches whose foundation dates before this epoch, as, for instance, in St John's at Lyons, and Notre Dame at Paris), and were higher than the old *ambones*, with an exclusive destination for preaching. Previously to this the sermon was delivered from the *pulpitum*, or—if, as was usual, the bishop preached—he advanced from within the *βῆμα* to the cancelli in order to be the better heard.

[1] Therefore according to the meaning of the Greek word, the raised spacious stage for speaking from.

[2] Hence οἱ τοῦ *βήματος* in Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* 19, 20.

[3] Can. 19: Καὶ μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. Can. 44: Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι. That, however, this rule was not absolutely without exception is proved by the *Concil. Trullan.* can. 69: (Μὴ ἐξέστω τινὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐν λαϊκοῖς τελοῦντι ἔνδον ἱεροῦ εἰσιέναι θυσιαστηρίου, μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλικῆς εἰργομένης ἐξουσίας καὶ αὐθεντίας, ἡνίκα ἂν βουληθείη προσάξια ὧραι τῷ πλάσαντι, κατά τινα ἀρχαιοτάτην παράδοσιν.)

[4] Ἔθος ἦν—states Sozomen—τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ ἐκκλησιάζειν, κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ λαοῦ κεχωρισμένους.... Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην παράδοσιν ἐπῄνεσε Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς... καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νυνὶ φυλαττομένην ὁρῶμεν.

[5] S. Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 31. *Apsis* or *absis* (properly the rounding of the wheel) was used almost in the same sense as *concha*. Cf. Augustin, *Epist.* cxxvi. and Paulin. Nol. *Epist.* xxxii. n. 17.

[6] In the early church nearer to the chancel rails, and it was only since the 13th Century that it has been placed more in the background of the choir. Euseb. (*H. E.* x. 4) merely gives the middle of the *bema* as the place of the altar (τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιον θυσιαστηρίον ἐν μέσῳ θείς).

[7] Cf. Petri Molinæi *Diss. de Altaribus et sacrificiis Veterum Christianorum, ad calcem Gregorii Nyss. Epist. de euntibus Hierosol.* Hanov. 1607; B. Bebelii *Exercit. de Aris et Mensis Eucharisticis Veterum.* Argent. 1685; J. Fabricius, *De Aris Veterum Christianorum.* Helmst. 1698. God. Voigt, *Thysiasteriologia seu lib. posthumus de Aris Vet. Christianorum*, ed. J. A. Fabricius. Hamb. 1709.

[8] That the first Christians in their churches within private houses had any other than wooden altars is hardly conceivable. Moreover, many decided testimonies for the existence of wooden altars in the 4th Century can

soon as in the fourth Century[1] of stone; which after the *Council of Epaonense*, A.D. 517, can. 26, became the legal material[2]. At the eastern end was the seat of the Bishop (θρόνος, *cathedra*) between the seats of the priests (σύνθρονοι)[3], and on both sides of the hindmost portion rooms[4] for different purposes of public worship (Paulin. *Epist.* xxxii. § 13[5]).

In the precincts of the church[6] (περίβολος) there also stood several inferior buildings, connected by doors with the principal edifice[7] (*exedræ*, according to the terminology of Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4, which however is not adopted invariably by others[8]). The principal of these was the Baptistery (βαπτιστήριον[9]), which in the larger churches had both an ante-chapel and chapel (Cyril, *Cateches. Mystagog.* i. 2[10]).

easily be adduced. Thus Athanasius, *Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. Agentes*, speaks of a wooden altar having been carried off by the Arians, and Optatus Milev. *de Schism. Donat.* l. vi., speaks there of an edict of the Arians: ut altaria raderent, lignorum inopia imperavit, and of a drink which by the Donatists in impious mockery, calida de fragmentis altarium facta est.

[1] Gregorius Nyss. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν φωτῶν (*Opp.* T. iii. p. 369) says: Τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινός. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθιερωθῇ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, ἐστὶ τράπεζα ἁγία.

[2] Altaria nisi chrismatis lapidea unctione non sacrentur.

[3] These θρόνοι are also mentioned by Eusebius in his description of the church at Tyre (*H. E.* x. 4), as being erected εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμήν. More intelligible is the explanation of the *Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 57: κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος· παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάσθωσαν.

[4] Secretaria circa apsidem, according to Paulin. Nol. *Ep.* 32, § 16.

[5] That is a smaller one for the officiating priest, a larger one for the others (Una [conchula] earum immolanti hostias jubilationis antistiti patet, altera ... capaci sinu receptat orantes).

[6] In the large church of Tyre this περίβολος was, according to Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4, surrounded with a wall (τῷ τοῦ παντὸς περιτειχίσματι), but in other cases (according to Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 59, for instance the Church of the Apostles), with a colonnade.

[7] Such as the ἀσπαστικὸς οἶκος (Salutatorium), τὰ παστοφόρια (vid. *Constitt. Apost.* ii. 57), ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν (in which *Pastophoria* the deacons after the Communion carried the fragments that remained, according to *Const. Ap.* viii. 13; see on this point Böhmer, *Alterthumswissenschaft*, Th. ii. s. 27 ff.), gazophylacium (*Statuta Eccl. Antiqua*, c. 93), διακονικόν (for the ἱερὰ σκεύη, as coincident in meaning with the σκευοφυλάκιον in the *Liturgia Jacobi*).

[8] In Augustin, *Ep.* xxix., and *Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, *exedra* appears to be identical with *apsis*.

[9] Sometimes also within the church itself. But a baptisterium standing entirely by itself is spoken of by Paulinus Nol. *Ep.* xxxii.

[10] He distinguishes a προαύλιον

They were often employed for holding councils (*Concil. Chalced.* act. 1). The principal chapel was furnished with a basin or font (κολυμβήθρα, *piscina*, Socrat. *H.E.* vii. 17[1]) for baptizing[2].

The earliest towers belong to the later times of the middle ages, and they form a significant symbolical peculiarity of the Arabian-Gothic taste in architecture.

3 Ever since the fourth Century, at latest, new churches were formally consecrated before they were used (comp. Euseb. *H. E.* x. 3, and *de Vita Const.* iv. 45[3])—ἐγκαίνια, τῶν ἐγκαινίων πανήγυρις, *dedicatio*[4]—and still later some also of its more important portions, especially the altar (*Concil. Agathense*—the Council of Agde—A. D. 506, can. 14[5]), as also all the buildings connected with the church (Justinian, *Novell.* 131, c. 7[6]). The consecration was performed by the bishop of the diocese in solemn assembly of the whole community (priests were forbidden to do so by the Council of Braca, A. D. 563, can. 19[7]); and not unfrequently with active co-operation of other bishops (cf. Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 45[8], and *H. E.* x. 4[9]). In many places the

τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον and τὸν ἐσώτερον οἶκον. Therefore also Ambrosius, *Ep.* xx. *ad Marcell.*, speaks in the plural of *baptisteriis basilicæ*.

[1] Τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου πληρωθῆναι κελεύσας.

[2] The fonts which arose out of this custom have been rejected only by the ultra-reformers.

[3] Euseb. x. 3, after the victory of Maximin (313) speaks of ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις, ἐπισκόπων τε ἐπὶ ταυτὸ συνελεύσεις; and *De Vita Const.* iv. 45, speaks of the profanation of a church at Jerusalem which had been built by Constantine. (Cf. E. F. Wernsdorf, *De Templi Constantiniani Solemni Dedicatione.* Viteb. 1770.)

[4] Cf. Lundius, *De Encæniis Templorum.* Upsal. 1706.

[5] Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.

[6] Εἴ τις βουληθείη οἰκοδομῆσαι σεβάσμιον εὐκτήριον, ... μὴ ἄλλως ἀρχέσθω τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, εἰ μὴ ὁ τῶν τόπων ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος εὐχὴν ἐκεῖσε ποιήσει καὶ τὸν τίμιον πήξει σταυρόν.

[7] Si quis presbyter post hoc interdictum ausus fuerit chrisma benedicere aut ecclesiam aut altarium consecrare, a suo officio deponatur; nam et antiqui hoc canones vetuerunt.

[8] According to Euseb. *V. C.* iv. 43, the whole Synod that met at Tyre (and according to c. xli. several bishops of Egypt, Libya, Asia, and Europe), received a command from Constantine, A. D. 335, to proceed to Jerusalem to be present at the consecration of a church there, which according to c. xlv. the bishops celebrated εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ ὁμιλίαις.

[9] In all probability Eusebius

day of the consecration of the church was yearly commemorated by a solemn festival (Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 26[1]). This external sanctity could not indeed, as the Church grew more and more secular, supply the occasional want of holiness in the worshippers; so that even Chrysostom (*Homil.* xxxii. *in Matth.*) referring to apostolical times, was forced to complain, *τότε αἱ οἰκίαι ἐκκλησίαι ἦσαν, νῦν δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκία γέγονεν.*

Sect. XXI.—DECORATION OF CHURCHES.

Cf. L. A. Muratori, "De templorum apud veteres Christianos ornatu," in his *Anecdota*, T. i. p. 178 sqq.

In the first three Centuries art was in general excluded from the Christian churches. In the times when Christianity was first separating itself from heathendom, a just alarm was felt at everything like an approximation towards it. And Christians entertained a natural dread of appearing, by adopting the imitative arts, to hold any communion with paganism; and it is with something more than earnestness that Tertullian raises his warning voice against it (*de Idololatria*, c. iii.[2]).

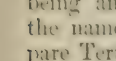
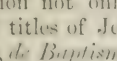
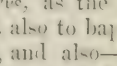
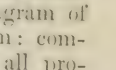
It was not before the close of the 3rd Century, when Christianity was at last perfecting its external triumph over heathenism, that these principles were (as was not unnatural) in some degree modified. However, the first

himself is meant by *τὶς τῶν μετρίως ἐπιεικῶν*, who delivered on this occasion the long discourse on the Consecration of the Church.

[1] *Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἐτήσιον ταύτην ἑορτὴν λαμπρῶς μάλα ἄγει ἡ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησία.*

[2] Priusquam hujus monstri artifices ebullissent, sola templa et vacuæ ædes erant, sicut in hodiernum quibusdam locis vetustatis vestigia permanent. Tamen idololatria agebatur, non in isto nomine, sed in isto opere. Nam et hodie extra templum et sine idolo agi potest. At ubi artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum diabolus seculo intulit, rude illud negotium humanæ calamitatis et nomen de idolis consecutum et profectum. Exinde jam caput facta est idololatriæ ars omnis, quæ idolum quoquomodo edit. Neque enim interest, an plastes effingat, an cælator exsculpat, an Phrygio detexat, quia nec de materia refert, an gypso, an coloribus, an lapide, an ære, an argento, an filo formetur idolum. Quando enim et sine idolo idololatria fiat, utique cum adest idolum, nihil interest, quale sit, qua de materia, qua de effigie, ne quis putet id solum idolum habendum, quod humana effigie sit consecratum.

religious images[1] were found not in the churches but in the private houses of Christians[2]. In the place of those ornamental works and other decorations on their walls and furniture, which alluded to heathen fables, the Christian substituted Christian ones[3]. Thus the symbols to be seen on the signet rings of Christians (cf. Clemens Alex. *Paedagogus*, l. iii. p. 289, c. 11[4]) were either a dove or a ship sailing towards heaven, an anchor, or a fish (the latter being an allusion not only to ἰχθύς, as the anagram of the names and titles of Jesus[5], but also to baptism: compare Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. i.[6]), and also—in all probability from a very early date—the so-called monogram, *i. e.* the abbreviated initials of Christ, which served at the same time as a typical memorial of The Crucified,

 or  or even  also 

although the Emperor Constantine was the first to make common use of this monogram[7]. The usual ornament of

[1] Cf. J. Dallæus, *De Imaginibus libri IV.* Lugd. B. 1642; J. Basnage, *Histoire des Images depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à l'onzième siècle*, in L. *XXII. XXIII.* of his *Histoire de l'Eglise.* T. II.; J. H. v. Wessenberg, *Die Christlichen Bilder.* Constanz. 2 Bde. 1827. See also both the two next notes, and also p. 113, n. 2.

[2] Cf. J. Reiske, *Exercitatt. Histor. de Imaginibus J. Chr.* Jen. 1685; P. E. Jablonsky, *Diss. de Origine Imaginum Christi in Eccl. Christ.*, in s. *Opp.* ed. Water. T. III. p. 377.

[3] Cf. F. Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* 2 Hfte. Altona, 1825. 4; Helmsdörfer, *Christliche Kunstsymbolik.* Frkf. 1839.

[4] Αἱ δὲ σφραγῖδες ἡμῖν ἔστων πελειὰς ἢ ἰχθὺς ἢ ναῦς οὐρανοδρομοῦσα ἢ λύρα μουσικὴ...ἢ ἄγκυρα ναυτική,...κἂν ἁλιεύων τις ᾖ, ἀποστόλου μεμνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπωμένων παιδίων. οὐ γὰρ εἰδώλων πρόσωπα ἐναποτυπωτέον· οἷς καὶ τὸ προσέχειν ἀπείρηται. οὐδὲ μὲν ξίφος ἢ τόξον τοῖς εἰρήνην διώκουσιν, ἢ κύπελλα τοῖς σωφρονοῦσιν.

[5] Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

[6] Nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur.

[7] The Emperor Constantine, directed by the heavenly vision to the cross, employed not only the simple cross in various ways (see below, p. 116, n. 2, &c.), but also and still more frequently, this more ornamental Monogram. Especially on the splendid imperial banner (the *Labarum*), Euseb. *Vita Const.* I. 31, was to be seen brilliantly embroidered τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον· δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα, διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμαινον χαρακτήρων, χιαζομένου τοῦ Ρ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον, and on the shields of his soldiers, according to Lactant. *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 44, Commoni-

the drinking vessels of the Christians was the figure of a shepherd with a lamb[1] (Tertullian, *de Pudicitiâ*, c. vii.[2]); and similar emblems.

Pictures however and material representations of Christ[3] were first employed by the heathens, as *e.g.* Alexander Severus in his *Lararium* (see Lampridius, *Vita Alex. Sev.* c. xxix.[4]); and by ethnicising heretics like the Carpocratians[5], and also perhaps (agreeably to their general tendency) by other Gnostics[6]. But it was not till the 4th

tus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis ... Fecit, ut jussus est, et transversa X littera summo capite circumflexo Christo in scutis notat. But we also find it on a coin of Constantinople (s. Banduri, *Numism. Imp. Rom.* Par. 1718, fol. T. II. p. 300; and Ekhel, *Doctr. Numism.* T. VIII. p. 88), not to mention here later coins and monuments with this sign.

[1] The shepherd is either leading or carrying the lamb.

[2] Ubi est ovis perdita, a Domino requisita et humeris ejus revecta? Procedant ipsæ picturæ calicum vestrorum.

[3] They do seem to be forbidden by the letter of the Old Testament no doubt even as representations of God Himself; i.e. when that letter is interpreted without due allowance, and without taking into consideration how much God Himself in His own word has conveyed to us in images, and how in the Old Testament He gave us an image of Himself (Gen. i. 26, &c.), and again, in the New Testament, in Christ.

[4] In larario suo (in quo animas sanctiores, in queis et Apollonium et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orpheum et hujusmodi deos habebat, ac majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat. Cf. Euseb. *H.E.* VII. 18.

[5] Of the Carpocratians it is said by Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* I. 24, 6: Imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore, quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ et Platonis et Aristotelis et aliorum, et reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut gentes faciunt.

[6] Utuntur autem — says Irenæus, *adv. H.* I. 24, 5, of the Basilidians — et hi magia et imaginibus et incantationibus et invocationibus et reliqua universa periergia. Now it is true the ready *imaginibus* is open to grave suspicion; however, the Abraxas-gems of the Basilidians are well known. We say nothing here of the Manichees, and of their sacred image of *Ertenk*. Compare also what Mosheim says generally of the Gnostics, *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantin. M.* p. 757, remarking: Ejus generis omnes sunt gnosticorum religiones, ut figuris et coloribus in tabula exprimi sive pingi queant, immo facilius ex picta tabula, quam ex libris et sermonibus capiantur; et nulla est inter eas, quæ felicius penicillo adumbrari queat, quam manichæa, tota nimirum fere fabulis seu fictis historiis constans. Hinc gnosticorum magistri, quod exemplo Ophitarum apud Origenem adv. Celsum constat, pictas ejusmodi religionis institutiones in plebis manus tra-

Century, and then not without the grave reclamations of others[1], that this was done by true catholics, as for instance, by Constantia the sister of Constantius[2]. Indeed, the very view which was entertained by most of the teachers of the early Church (*e. g.* Justin, *Dialog.* p. 333, ed. Thirlb.[3]; Clemens Alex. *Paedag.* iii. c. 1, p. 252, and *Strom.* vi. c. 17, p. 818[4]; Tertullian, *de Carne Christi*, c. ix.[5]), that the external appearance of Christ was anything but prepossessing—a view which is very far indeed from being authorized, as they argued, by the passage of Isaiah LIII. 2, 3 (see the notes 2 and 3), or by certain inferences (for the latter see the last note and the following one), which view by the end of the 4th century was with as little reason displaced by its very opposite (Chrysost. *Homil.* xxvii. *in Matth.* p. 328[6]; as also St Jerome, *Epist.* LXV. *ad Princip. Virg.*

dere solebant, id est tabulas, in quibus præcipua religionis capita notis, figuris, imaginibus, oculis objiciebantur.

[1] Eusebius of Cesarea, when the sister of Constantine required of him some image, denounced the religious use of images altogether, as being more or less heathenish, and exhorted the princess to form to herself an image of Christ out of the Gospel, for that His divine essence could not be conveyed by any dead colours (see Eusebius' Letter in the *Actio VI. Conc. Nic.* II. and in J. Boivin, Notes to the second book of Nicephoras Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.* ed. Paris. T. II. p. 795); and the old bishop Epiphanius, in the vestibule of a church in Palestine, tore imaginem quasi Christi vel Sancti cujusdam; non enim satis memini, cujus imago fuerit, very reluctantly indeed, but because the use of such images is contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, as he himself states at length in his *Epist. ad Johannem Hierosol.*, as translated by St Jerome in his *Opp.* ed. Vall. T. I. p. 252.

[2] See the preceding note.

[3] Ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην...καὶ ἀειδοῦς, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκήρυσσον, φαινομένου.

[4] Τὸν δὲ Κύριον αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχρὸν γεγονέναι, διὰ Ἡσαΐου τὸ πνεῦμα μαρτυρεῖ, remarks Clement in the *Paed.*, and then in the *Strom.* assigns the reason: ἵνα μή τις τὸ ὡραῖον ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὸ κάλλος θαυμάζων ἀφίστηται τῶν λεγομένων.

[5] Carnis terrenæ non mira conditio ipsa erat, quæ cetera ejus miranda faciebat, cum dicerent, unde hæc doctrina et signa ista. Etiam despicientium formam ejus hæc erat vox. Adeo nec humanæ honestatis corpus fuit, nedum cœlestis claritatis. Tacentibus apud nos quoque prophetis de ignobili aspectu ejus ipsæ passiones ipsæque contumeliæ loquuntur. Passiones quidem humanam carnem, contumeliæ vero inhonestam. An ausus esset aliquis sputaminibus contaminare faciem nisi merentem?

[6] Οὐδὲ γὰρ θαυματουργῶν ἦν θαυμαστὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαινόμενος ἁπλῶς πολλῆς ἔγεμε χάριτος, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ προφήτης ὀηλῶν ἔλεγεν· ὡραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ ὁ Ἡσαΐας λέγει· οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος

§ 8[1], and *Comm. in Matth.* ix. 9[2]),—would have made it natural for the Christians to abstain from all pictures of Christ. And yet for all that, at a later date likenesses of Christ, which it was pretended had come down from the very earliest times[3], and which moreover, it was even alleged, were of a higher than human origin (εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι[4]), were, for a considerable period, hawked about.

Gradually, and principally at a date subsequent to the 4th Century, after the Church of Spain had by certain isolated instances set the precedent (*Concil. Eliberitan.* [Elvira] A. D. 305, can. 36[5]), *pictures and other sacred representations* passed from the houses of Christians *into their Churches*, the subjects being taken chiefly from the Old and New Testament[6], the history of the first centuries[7], and especially from the life and sufferings of the martyrs. What influence all this had on Christian art in its constant

οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος δόξαν τὴν ἀπόῤῥητον καὶ ἀφραστον τοῦτό φησιν, ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ πάθει συμβάντα διηγούμενος καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν, ἣν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

[1] Nisi enim habuisset et in vultu quiddam oculisque sidereum, nunquam eum statim secuti fuissent apostoli, nec qui ad comprehendendum eum venerant, corruissent.

[2] Certe fulgor iste et majestas divinitatis occultæ, quæ etiam in humana facie relucebat, ex primo ad se videntes trahere poterat aspectu.

[3] See the careful literary proofs of this in Rheinwald, *Archäologie S.* 398 ff. Anm. 7.

[4] Cf. J. Gretser, *De Imaginibus non manu factis.* Ingolst. 1622, and J. Beausobre, *Des Images de main divine*, in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, T. XVIII. p. 10 sqq.

[5] Placuit—concluded the Synod, evidently with an eye to a contrary practice which had already sprung up,—picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere, ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

[6] Of the former, a favourite one was the offering up of Abraham (cf. e. g. Gregor. Nyss. *Opp.* T. III. p. 476); of the latter, subjects taken from the life of Christ and the Apostles (cf. e. g. Augustin, *De Consensu Evangelist.* I. 10).—Thus, for instance, Paul of Nola in the splendid church which he had built in honour of the martyr Felix, had stories painted from the Old Testament (Job, Tobias, Esther, Judith—and also of Christian Martyrs—according to Paulin. *Poëm.* 27, v. 20 sqq.; Christ as a Lamb—according to *Epist.* 32; the latter a symbolical representation which subsequently the *Concil. Quinisextum Trull.* can. 82, prohibited), accompanied with narratives and apophthegms (*Poëm.* 26, v. 580 sqq.) for the instruction and edification of the pilgrims to the martyrs' tombs.

[7] Cf. *e. g.* Chrysostom, *Hom. eis Μελέτιον*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 519; and *Asterius Amas.* in Mansi *Concil.* T. XIII. p. 16.

and intimate connexion with theological science, must be left to the history of Christian art to unfold[1], while also the grave conflicts it subsequently gave rise to must be learnt from Church-history[2]. By the 5th Century images had become so numerous in the Churches, both of the East and the West, that complaints were *already* made among oriental Christians against the crowding of Churches with paintings and statues (see Nilus, *Epistol.* l. iv. ep. 61[3]). As yet however no ecclesiastical worship of any kind was paid to them[4]. On the contrary, the principle on which they were at this time employed was the very same which has led to their adoption in later and even very modern times of the Church, and which in its purity maintains the

[1] Cf. J. C. W. Augusti, *Beiträge zur Christlichen Kunstgeschichte,* u. s. w. 2 Thle. Lpz. 1841, 1846; and also the 6th, I believe, of his *Lehrbuche der Christlichen Alterthümer: Grundzüge zu einer Archäologie der Christlichen Kunst,* s. 191—243; and the corresponding portion in his larger archæological works. But especially Didron, *Iconographie Chretienne. Histoire de Dieu.* Par. 1843; and H. Alt, *Die Heiligenbilder oder die bildende Kunst und die Theologische Wissenschaft in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnisse Historisch dargestellt.* Berl. 1845. The latter work treats of the symbolical signs of the Old and New Testament, of the images of Christ, Mary, and the saints, and their attributes, with a view to point out historically the invariably close connexion between the arts of figure and theological science. This connexion is to be seen also in the idolatry of heathenism, as also in the prohibition of the Old Testament to make images. And in the New Testament the idea which is expressed in the dogma of the God-man is the foundation, not only of the development of Christian science, but also of Christian art. The matured dogma matures images also—thus the system of traditions of the middle ages was also accompanied by a corresponding traditional course of art, and so at the Reformation the struggle for emancipation had to be fought out in the dominion of science as well as of art.

[2] In the mediæval disputes about the use of images (see Neander, *Kirchengeschichte,* Th. III. s. 398, &c., and IV. 537, &c.) the same three views came into collision with each other (1st, fanatical image-worship, 2nd, fanatical destruction of images, 3rd, though only faintly and at a distance—the true evangelical, sober use of images without abuse), as also since the Reformation are still essentially exhibited in the three principal confessions:—the [Roman]-Catholic, the Reformed [Calvinistic], and the Evangelical [Lutheran].

[3] See the passages in Rheinwald, *Archäol.* s. 142 ff.

[4] Augustin, even in his time, *De Moribus Eccl. Cath.* I. 34, speaks of sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores, but adds: quos et ipsa condemnat (ecclesia) et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.

due medium between the two extremes of image-worship and Iconoclasm [1]. At this date they were regarded simply as ornaments of the church (especially of the baptistery); but at the same time they were also intended to serve as a means of instruction for the Christian populace (cf. Paulin. Nolan. *Poem.* xxvi.[2], and Gregor. Magn. *Epistol.* lib. xi. 13, &c.[3]);—that same truthful moderation which afterwards the Church of the *Carlomannian Empire*[4],—a worthy forerunner of the *German Reformation-Church*[5]—earnestly and boldly defended.

[1] Compare above, note 1.

[2] V. 580 ff. he says:

Propterea visum nobis opus utile, totis
Felicis domibus pictura illudere sancta,
Si forte attonitas hæc per spectacula mentes
Agrestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra,
Quæ super exprimitur titulis, ut littera monstret,
Quod manus explicuit cet.

[3] In this epistle he writes to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, who had permitted images to be destroyed in several churches: Frangi non debuit, quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum; while, however, in the l. IX. *Ep.* 105, he openly avows: Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse judicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illas servare et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit. As indeed in other passages (*Epp.* IX. 52) he speaks of having, in compliance with his wish, sent to one Secundinus an image of Christ, adding the remark, that it is a need of human nature to have some visible memento of the unseen object of its affection, coupled however with the warning, that the image should be regarded in no other light than as a memorial of the Saviour Himself: (Scio, quod imaginem Salvatoris non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas, sed ob recordationem filii Dei in ejus amore recalescas, cujus te imaginem videre desideras. Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur).

[4] Dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus præter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis Sanctorum imagines non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus—is the explanation of *Libri Carolini* (Charlemagne) l. III. 16.

[5] "Wenn das Anbeten hinweggethan wird, so kann man die Bilder gebrauchen, wie die Buchstaben, die uns derer Dinge erinnern und sie gleichsam vor die Augen stellen.—Ich wolle oder wolle nicht, wenn ich Christum höre, so entwirft sich in meinem Herzen ein Mannsbild, das am Kreuze hanget; gleich als sich mein Anlitz natürlich entwirft ins Wasser, wenn ich drein sehe. Ists nun nicht Sünde, sondern gut, dass ich Christus Bild im Herzen

The use of the cross as the general symbol of redemption began at a very early date (though first of all in the domestic circle—Tertullian, *de Corona Mil.* c. iii.[1]) to be commonly used by Christians[2]. Indeed there were not wanting those who thought that nature herself did everywhere typically do honour to this sign (cf. Tertull. *de Orat.* c. xxix.[3], and Justin M. *Apol.* i. p. 82[4]). The frequent use of the cross in private life[5] led to its reception in the Church, and signing with the sign of the cross[6] was

habe, warum sollts Sünde seyn, wenn ichs im Auge habe?"

If everything like adoration be excluded, the use of images is allowable; for, like words and letters, they remind us of absent objects, and as it were, bring them before our eyes... When I hear Christ preached, there is formed in my heart, whether I choose it or not, the image of a man hanging on the cross; just as my own face is mirrored in the water whenever I look upon it. If now it be no sin but rather good for me to have an image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin for me to have one in my eye? Luther, *Werke, Ausg. von Walch.* Th. vi. s. 2747, and T. xx. s. 212.

[1] Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum atque exitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Cf. s. 141, the place of Chrysostomus.

[2] Cf. J. Gretser, *De Sancta Cruce.* Ingoldst. 1606—8. 3 t. 4.

[3] Sed et aves nunc exsurgentes eriguntur ad cœlum, et alarum crucem pro manibus extendunt, et dicunt aliquid, quod oratio videatur.

[4] Κατανοήσεται γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, εἰ ἄνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖται ἢ κοινωνίαν ἔχειν δύναται. θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἣν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον ὁ καλεῖται ἱστίον ἐν τῇ νηΐ σῶον μείνῃ. γῆ δὲ οὐκ ἀροῦται ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.

[5] What a wide extension the use of the sign of the Cross had gained from Tertullian's time, is shewn by St Chrysostom, *Homil. πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας* (*Opp.* T. i. p. 571), where he observes, ὡς πανταχοῦ τοῦτο εὑρίσκεσθαι, παρὰ ἄρχουσι, παρὰ ἀρχομένοις, παρὰ γυναιξί, παρὰ ἀνδράσι, παρὰ παρθένοις, παρὰ γεγαμημέναις, παρὰ δούλοις, παρὰ ἐλευθέροις. "It is found," he continues, ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν ἀγοραῖς, ἐν ἐρημίαις, ἐν ὁδοῖς, ἐν ὄρεσιν, ἐν νάπαις, ἐν βουνοῖς, ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ πλοίοις καὶ νήσοις· ἐν κλίναις, ἐν ἱματίοις, ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν παστάσιν, ἐν συμποσίοις, ἐν σκεύεσιν ἀργυροῖς, ἐν χρυσέοις, ἐν μαργαρίταις, ἐν τοίχων γραφαῖς.—And even before this the Emperor Julian (s. Cyril Alex. *contra Julianum*, l. vi. p. 194) had derided the Christians because they εἰκόνας σταυροῦ σκιαγραφοῦντες ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ καὶ πρὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐγγράφοντες, ἐν σώμασιν ἀλόγων πολλὰ πεπονηκότων, ἐν σώμασιν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων πολιορκουμένων, ἐν πολέμοις, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἡμέραις, ἐν νυξίν, κ.τ.λ.

[6] In the same way as among Protestants, the old Lutheran Church has retained it in the consecration of the elements at the Lord's Supper, and in blessing. [The Anglican Church retains it at baptism only.]

adopted into all the principal ministrations of divine worship (*Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 12, Chrysostom, *Homil. ad Judæos et Græcos*, l. l., and Augustin, *Tract.* cxviii. *in Joh.*[1]). And after the times of Constantine the Great[2] it became almost an universal custom to make or to raise the sign of the cross on every spot and on every occasion[3], not however without traces being discernible even at this date of superstitious feelings being connected with the practice[4]. It was in this way that the sign of the simple cross found its way into the worship of the Christian Church, so that by the 4th Century crosses of the most costly materials (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 21[5]) were to be seen in different parts of the sacred edifices[6], and especially on the altars (Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 3, compared with Nilus, *Epist.* iv. 61), where at a later date[7], however, images of the Crucified (*Crucifixes*) displaced the simple cross.

[1] Οὗτος—says St Chrysostom, after having spoken (note 3) of the use of the sign of the Cross among men of all ranks, ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν διατυπούμενον περιφέρουσιν—οὗτος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, οὗτος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονίαις, οὗτος πάλιν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει. And St Augustin (in the above-cited work) mentions how the signum Christi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ, ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo, quo chrismate unguntur, sive sacrificio, quo aluntur.

[2] Ever since the incident of the heavenly sign (Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 28 sq) the Emperor constantly employed this sign on all occasions both in public and in his private life. In his own person (τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ σωτηρίῳ κατασφραγιζόμενος σημείῳ.—Euseb. l. l. iii. 2); he had it impressed on the arms of his soldiers (καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅπλων τὸ τοῦ σωτηρίου τροπαίου σύμβολον κατασημαίνεσθαι ἐποίει); not to mention again the splendid banner embroidered with the Monogram, and the constant employment of this Monogram.

[3] In Constantinople (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 3.), and on his statue in the Roman Forum (Euseb. l. l. i. 40, and *H. E.* ix.) Constantine set up crosses, publicly confessing to the Romans: Τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρίας, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν...ἠλευθέρωσα.

[4] Even St Augustin must testify against them, *Sermo* 32 *in Ps.* 143: Factorem quærit Deus signorum suorum, non pictorem. Si portas in fronte signum humilitatis Christi, porta in corde imitationem humilitatis Christi.

[5] He mentions σταυρὸν, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις ἐξησκημένον.

[6] It is only on the pavement of the church that the image of the cross is forbidden, as not fit to be trodden under foot. *Concil. Trull.* c. 43.

[7] According to Münter, a. a. *O. I. S.* 77, for the first time after the 7th century.

But besides images and crosses, other decorations in keeping and character therewith were also employed at this period for the ornamenting of the churches. Inscriptions[1], mosaics (*opus musivium, tesselatum*—as for instance in the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople[2]), entablatures (*opus laquearum—lacunaria*[3]), in the churches of the martyrs the consecrated offerings, *ἀναθήματα, donaria*[4]—the sacred utensils of costly material and workmanship (*σκεύη ἱερά, vasa sacra*[5]); also lamps, tapers, chandeliers in different places of the churches, but especially on the altars, which in some instances were kept burning during the whole day—and not merely during the ministration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper[6]—(cf. Paulin. Nol. *Poem.* xiv. v. 99 seqq.[7]—the origin of the constant burning of tapers, and lamps, &c. in the [Roman] Catholic Church).

[1] Thus, according to Paulin. Nol. *Epist.* 32, § 12, runs the inscription over the entrance of the church which he there describes:

Pax tibi sit, quicunque Dei penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.

On the inside was written:

Quisquis ab æde Dei perfectis ordine votis
Egrederis, remea corpore, corde mane.

[2] Cf. J. Ciampini, *Vet. Monumenta, in quibus præcipue musiva opera, sacr. profanarumque ædium structura et nonnulli antiqui ritus illustrantur.* 3 voll. Rom. 1747, fol.

[3] Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 32, mentions for instance apsis opus musivum, and in the rest of the church extrà concham lacunatum.

[4] The origin of these votive offerings (that *viz.* in the churches of the martyrs, representations were set up in gold or silver, of the parts (*ὀφθαλμῶν, ποδῶν, χειρῶν*) which, after direct prayer to the saints, had been healed) is mentioned by Theodoret, *ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων. Disp.* 8.

[5] Particularly valuable and precious was the communion-plate, and especially the cup, &c. While St Jerome could still speak of it as glass, which was the material employed by the earlier Christians. St Chrysostom had to resist such luxury (*Homil.* L. *in Matth.*) (*οὐ γὰρ χρυσοχοεῖον, οὐδὲ ἀργυροκοπεῖόν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ πανήγυρις ἀγγέλων...οὐκ ἦν ἡ τράπεζα ἐξ ἀργύρου τότε ἐκείνη, οὐδὲ τὸ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν, ἐξ οὗ ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ*). It is spoken of (ibid.) as *ποτήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ λιθοκόλλητον.*—See moreover, J. Doughtæus, *De Calicibus Eucharisticis vet. Christianorum.* Brem. 1694.

[6] In this sacrament the Lutheran Church still retains the beautifully significant symbol of burning tapers on the altar—while the united Church of Prussia has even extended the use of them, and applied them to the portion of the Liturgy before the sermon.

[7] Clara coronantur densis altaria lychnis.

The first distinct trace of church-bells[1] (*campanæ*[2]—called also in the 8th Century *clocæ*, *cloccæ*, *gloggæ*—which only in a loose sense can be called an ornament of the church, being destined not for the eye but for the ear)—is found in the 7th Century[3]. *Before* this time many and various[4] substitutes were used for them. In the *Capitulare Caroli Magni* of the year 789, c. 18[5], we already meet with the prohibition *ut clocas non baptizent.*

Lumina ceratis adolentur odora papyris,
Nocte dieque micant. Sic nox splendorque diei
Fulget, et ipsa dies cœlesti insignis honore
Plus micat innumeris lucem geminata lucernis,

is the description of Paulinus. On the other hand, Vigilantius (in *Hieronym. adv. Vig.* c. ii.) speaks in a very different tone, and does not hesitate to say: Prope ritum gentilium videmus sub prætextu religionis introductum in ecclesias, sole adhuc fulgente, moles cereorum accendi.

[1] Cf. N. Eggers, *De Origine et Nomine Campanæ.* Jen. 1634; C. Hilscher, *De Campanis Templorum.* Lips. 1692; C. W. J. Chrysander, *Historische Nachricht von Kirchenglocken.* Rinteln. 1755.

[2] So called from their pretended inventor, Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania, in the 5th century.

[3] In monasteries, trumpets (*Pachomii Regula*, c. 3, in *Holsten. Cod. Reg.* T. IV. p. 26), or hammers (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 104, and Cassian, *De Institut. Cœnob.* IV. 12); in churches a hammer striking against a plate of iron (Leo Allat. *De Templ. Rec. Gr.* p. 100).

[4] In the *Vita Lupi Senonensis Episc.* (s. *Baronii Annales, ad a.* 615), according to which, during a siege by King Clotaire, Lupus in Domino fidens ad protomartyris Stephani ædem se contulit; cumque ad convocandum populum signum ecclesiæ tangeret, viribus hostes destituti tantoque sunt terrore correpti, ut cet...Clotharius Rex ubi comperit signum vel campanam S. Stephani sonum edere gratissimum, jussit eam Parisios transferri cet.—According to another account of Sabinianus, bishop of Rome, and the successor of Gregory the Great, the sanction of the Church to the use of bells was given at a somewhat earlier date, and the invention (Martene, *De Ritib.* T. III. p. 17) dates from the sixth century.

[5] Baluz, *Capitul. reg. Francor.* T. I. p. 244.

CHAPTER SECOND.

OF THE CHURCH SEASONS.

(*HEORTOLOGY*).

1 Of Roman Catholic writers, the following may be consulted: J. Gretser, *De Festis Christianorum*, libri II. Ingolst. 1612. 4, together with an *Auctarium*, 1612; C. Gueti, *Heortologia*. Par. 1657, fol.: Prosp. Lambertini (afterwards Pope Benedict XIV.), *Commentarii duo de Jesu Christi matrisque ejus Festis et de Missæ Sacrificio: ex ital. in lat. Serm. Vert. Mich. Ang. de Giacomellis*. Patav. 1752, fol. (containing many matters from unprinted archives); *Ueber den ersten Ursprung und die erste Beschaffenheit der Feste, Fasten und Bittgänge in der Katholischen Kirche*. Münch. 1804. 8; M. A. Nickel, *Die heiligen Zeiten und Feste nach ihrer Geschichte und Feier in der Katholischen Kirche*. Mainz. 1825—38. 3 Thle in 6 Bden; F. A. Staudenmaier, *Der Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, heiligen Handlungen und der heiligen Kunst*. Mainz. 2 Aufl. 1838. 2 Thle.

2 Of Protestant writers, the following: R. Hospinianus, *Festa Christianorum h. e. de origine, progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Christ.* Tigur. 1593, fol. then again Genev. 1669, 1674 f.; M. Dresser, *De Festis diebus Christianorum, Judæorum et Ethnicorum liber, quo origo, causa, ritus et usus eorum exponitur*. Lips. 1594. 8. ed. 2, 1602; A. Wilckii Ἑορτογραφίας *pars prior, Festa Christianor. Œcumenica continens, revisa studio et lab.* G. Hessi. Lips. 1676. 8, and *pars posterior posthuma, festa XII. Apostolorum cont.*, ed. a. G. Hesso. Jen. 1676. 8; Joach. Hildebrand, *De Diebus Festis libellus*. Helmst. 1701. 4. (also in M. J. E. Volbeding, *Thesaurus Commentationum Selectar. Illustrandis Antiquitatibus Christ. Inservientium*, T. I. p. 1. Lips. 1846. nr. 1), and ejusd. *De Priscæ et Primitivæ Ecclesiæ Sacris Publicis, templis et diebus Festis Enchiridion Collect.* Helmst. 1702. 4; J. A. Schmid, *Historia Festorum et Dominicarum*. Ed. Nov. 1729. 4; G. B. Eisenschmidt, *Geschichte der Sonn-und Festtage der Christen, nach ihrem Ursprunge und Benennungen*, u. s. w. Lpz. 1793. 8. (arranged in alphabetical order, and without scientific value); J. C. W. Augusti, *Die Feste der alten Christen, für Religionslehrer und gebildete Leser*. Lpz. 1817. 20. 3 Bde. 8; C. Ullmann, *Vergleichende Zusammenstellung des Christlichen Festcyclus mit Vorchristlichen Festen, als Anhang zu Creuzer's Symbolik*. Lpz. 1821. Th. IV. s. 577—614; also Jos. v. Hammer, *Vergleichende Uebersicht der wichtigsten Feste der vorz. Volker des Alterthums mit Berücksichtigung der Christlichen, in den Wiener Jahrbüchern* 1818 *Julii bis Sept.*

Sect. XXII.—GENERAL REMARKS.

TO the Christian every day is sanctified by the memory of the great events of the Gospel[1], and accordingly the first Christians met together daily for mutual edification (see Acts ii. 46[2], compared with the regulations of *Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 59[3]). Soon however (partly from a wish to adhere to the analogy of the Old Testament, and partly in deference to the wants of man's mixed spiritual and sensuous nature, as well as from a regard to the duty of constantly keeping up a lively and thankful remembrance of God's great mercy and condescension to a fallen race) particular days and seasons were set apart in order that the observance of them might diffuse a vital influence on all the others[4]. The celebration of such days, which were observed simply but suitably[5], was established first of all weekly,

[1] Origen even in his day, and also at a later date St Chrysostom, and likewise St Jerome (see p. 122, n. 3), prominently insist upon these profoundly evangelical ideas. Ἔτι δὲ ὁ νοήσας, says Origen of the Christians, *contra Cels.* VIII. 22, ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς,...οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ πάσχα διαβαίνων ἀεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ πράξει ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ σπεύδων ... ἀεί ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις. And St Chrysostom, *Homil. de S. Pentec.* I. (*Opp.* T. II. p. 458): Ἐκείνους μὲν (Ἰουδαίους) τρεῖς μόνους ἐκέλευσεν ἑορτάζειν καιροὺς, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἑορτή...ἀεὶ πάσχα δυνάμεθα ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀεὶ πεντηκοστήν. To the like purport, *Hom.* 15 *in* 1 *Cor.*: Δεικνὺς, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἑορτῆς ἐστὶ καιρὸς τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν δοθέντων ἀγαθῶν....Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γέγονε διά σε, θανάτου σε ἀπήλλαξεν, εἰς βασιλείαν ἐκάλεσεν. ὁ τοιούτων τοίνυν ἐπιτυχών σου καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνων, πῶς οὐκ ὀφείλεις ἑορτάζειν πάντα τὸν βίον;...ἑορτῆς γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ καιρὸς ἅπας.

[2] Καθ' ἡμέραν τε προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κ. τ. λ.

[3] Ἑκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίζεσθε, ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας, ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς. The order of these daily matins and vespers is described at length (*Constitt. Apost.* VIII. 35—39).

[4] This object was at a later date thus expressed by Natal. Felic. *Carm.* X.:

...velut cœlum stellis, ut floribus arva
Temporibusque annos, Dominus sic ipse diebus
Tempora distinxit festis, ut pigra diurnis
Ingenia obsequiis, saltem discrimine facto,
Post intervallum reduci solemnia voto
Sancta libenter agant.

Similarly also St Jerome in the passage quoted p. 122, note 3.

[5] The object of these days was

but afterwards yearly (according to Augustin, *Ep. ad Januar.* LIV. § 1, in obedience to Apostolical or synodal regulations[1]). Attaching Christian commemorations to the great Jewish festivals, which were still observed by the Jewish Christians, the Church gave to them a higher significance[2]; while, however, by a multiplication of holidays[3] she soon

to serve as joyful commemorations which the Christian was to pass in holy joy and recollection of the great events of the Gospel. They were not, therefore, to be marked by sensual enjoyment; and accordingly from the times of Constantius, numerous edicts appeared prohibiting all public festivities on these holy days. (Cf. Euseb. *Vita Const.* IV. 18. 23, and *Orat. de Laudd. Constant.* p. 518, with *Cod. Theodos.* XV. 5, 2. 5, and *Cod. Justinian.* III. 12, 11.) As regards details, the following were the principal points in the celebration of these festivals (cf. the subsequent account of the observance of the Lord's Day, § 23): 1st, They were observed as holidays (*feriæ*), on which not only all festivities inconsistent with, and repugnant to devotion, but also—at least after the 4th Century—all public and especially judicial duties were suspended (*Cod. Theodos.* II. 8, 1. 2, and *Cod. Justinian.* III. 12, 7), and only opera necessitatis et caritatis (and among these was reckoned, according to *Cod. Theodos.* II. 8. 1, manumissio servorum), might be performed (cf. *e.g.* Ambrosius, *Expos. in Ps.* 118 [119], v. 105: Oleum tuum misericordia tua est. Hoc oleum lucet in ecclesiæ solennitatibus); so that in its observance of these festivals, the Church kept the mean between Romish indifference and the severe rigour of the Jewish Sabbath. 2nd, Attendance on the public worship of the Church was regarded as the duty of every Christian (cf. *Concil. Eliberit.* a. 305, can. 21). 3rd, The sacred buildings and even the private residences of the Christians were on these festivals decorated (and in the ancient Church, lights were employed on such occasions), and the Christians themselves appeared in a holiday garb. 4th, On these festivals no one, with the exception of some heretical bodies, ever thought of fasting (cf. *Canones Apostol.* c. 65, *Concil. Gangrense* about 370, can. 18, *Concil. Carthag.* IV. a. 398, c. 64, and *Concil. Bracar.* I. c. 4). 5th, Moreover, on these days it was usual to hold Love-feasts, or *Agapæ*—the place of which was subsequently supplied by almsgiving, and by the rich and wealthy feeding the poor (cf. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xxxix. and *De Jejun.* c. xvii., and *Concil. Carthag.* III. a. 397, c. 30). And 6th, On these days, according to Tertullian, *De Orat.* c. xvii. and *De Cor. Mil.* c. iii. with *Concil. Nic.* c. 20, prayer was offered by the people standing, and not kneeling.

[1] Illa, quæ non scripta, sed tradita custodimus,...vel ab ipsis apostolis, vel plenariis conciliis... commendata atque statuta...Sicut quod Domini passio et resurrectio et adscensio in cœlum et adventus de cœlo spiritus Sancti anniversaria sollemnitate celebrantur.

[2] Cf. Augustin, *Epist.* LV. § 16: Occiditur ovis, celebratur pascha, et interpositis L diebus datur lex ... Occiditur Christus, tanquam ovis ad immolandum ductus, celebratur verum pascha, et ...datur Spiritus S. cet.

[3] And yet in the first centuries

violated the analogy she had followed. In this way a yearly cycle of such memorials was ere long established[1]. At a very early date many voices were raised against such anniversaries, and, indeed, against Christian festivals in general, as savouring of Judaism, *e.g.* by Tertullian, *de Jejun.* c. xiv.[2]; while others, with true Evangelical moderation, justified the practice (*e.g.* Hieronymus, *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.* c. iv. *Opp.* T. vii. p. 456[3]). And thus also in the more modern times of the

the number of festivals was by no means great, for the oldest Christian festivals, besides the Lord's Day (§ 23), seem to have been merely the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* and *ἀναστάσιμον* (Good Friday and Easter Day, § 24), to which was added the Feast of Pentecost, or Whitsunday (§ 25), together with the Commemoration-days of a few martyrs (§ 27). Cf. Origenes, *contra Cels.* VIII. c. 22, and Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. 14, with Hieronym. *Comm. Ep. ad Gal.* c. iv. u. a.

[1] Thus then the festivals of the Christians, the dies sacri, festi, feriati, may be divided, first of all, into hebdomadarii and anniversarii. The latter again, first of all, with respect to the time of their celebration, may be classed either as *moveable* (mobiles), the day on which they are kept being dependent on Easter (the cycle of Easter and Whitsuntide), or as fixed, *immobiles*, which always fall on the same day of the month (the cycle of Christmas and the festivals of the Martyrs and of the Virgin). With regard to the day of the week, the immobiles again become mobiles, and *vice versâ*. Once more with regard to their significance, they are either *majores* or *minores*, or, with reference to their duration, they were called *integri*, lasting a whole day—or if not, *intercisi*. Later writers, as *e.g.* Goar, *εὐχολόγιον*, p. 12, classify them, from a consideration of their object, either as *ἑορταὶ δεσποτικαὶ*, or *ἑορταὶ θεομητορικαὶ*, or *ἑορταὶ τῶν ἁγίων*. Lastly, another division arises from their general character as festivals, into proper festivals, or Eves Vigiliæ—(on the subject of the latter, see § 24, on the Festival of Easter), or, Repeated Commemorations of the Great Festivals—the so-called Octaves. [On this name the last-quoted section may be consulted.]

[2] Horum igitur tempora observantes et dies et menses et annos, galaticamur plane, si judaicarum cerimoniarum, si legalium solemnitatem observantes sumus... Quodsi nova conditio in Christo, jam nova et sollemnia esse debebunt. Aut si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit apostolus, cur pascha celebramus ...cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exsultatione decurrimus?

[3] Dicat aliquis: si dies observare non licet et menses et tempora et annos, nos quoque simile crimen incurrimus, quartam sabbati observantes, et parasceven et diem dominicam et jejunium quadragesimæ, et paschæ festivitatem et pentecostes lætitiam, et pro varietate regionum diversa in honore martyrum tempora constituta. Ad quod qui simpliciter respondebit, dicet: non eosdem judaicæ observationis dies esse, quos nostros. Nos enim non azymorum pascha celebramus, sed resurrectionis et crucis. And then St Jerome afterwards goes on, first of all, to assert simply the salutary object of these

Church, while the unreformed portion of it has approximated towards a Judaizing mode of viewing such festivals[1], it is only by a certain fraction—but unquestionably a leading fraction of the ultra-reformers (who however for their part have carried into the observance of the Sunday a Judaizing sabbatical rigour)—that they have been rejected altogether.

Sect. XXIII.—WEEKLY FESTIVALS: SUNDAY, SATURDAY; SEMI-FESTIVALS.

1 The Old Testament Sabbath—as commemorating the completion of the great work of Creation, the first birth of the universe out of nothing by the Divine Word, and of the beginning of the work of divine mercy—was hallowed in the first place, and for all men, by the typical act of God's resting (Gen. ii. 2, &c.), and secondly for Israel in particular by the Almighty's express command. The duty of this observance, even after the Old Covenant had been annulled by the publication of the New, was still recognised by the Church[2]. It kept therefore one day in seven

Christian festivals, and in the next place, like Origen and St Chrysostom, in the passages already adduced, p. 120, note 1, maintains generally the Christian character of such observances in opposition to the reproach of Judaism, which had been brought against them: Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, propterea dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum omnes pariter veniremus. Non quo celebrior sit dies illa, qua convenimus, sed quo, quacunque die conveniendum sit, ex conspectu mutuo lætitia major oriatur. Qui vero oppositæ quæstioni acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat, omnes dies æquales esse, nec per parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi et die dominico resurgere, sed semper sanctum resurrectionis esse diem et semper eum carne vesci dominica.—To meet this reproach of a Judaizing tendency, other fathers and ecclesiastical writers insist upon the distinction between the legally enjoined festivals of the Jews and the voluntary commemorations of the Christians: thus especially Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22.

[1] Not only does the Roman Catholic Church observe a greater number of these festivals than the Lutheran Church does, but it alone (with the Greek Church) regards them as an essential part of Christian worship, subject to certain legal and inviolable regulations. By this means, and by its legal injunctions of certain Fasts (in which matter the Greek Church is even still more strict), the Roman Church does, no doubt, verge very closely on a Judaizing character.

[2] Cf. J. Möbius, *A quibusnam dies solis consecratus sit cultui Divino.* Lips. 1688; D. H. Arnoldt, *De Antiquitate diei Domi-*

as a memorial of the completion of the new creation—the finished new-birth by water and the Spirit,—the perfecting of the work of Divine mercy by the new and more glorious facts of Christ's Resurrection and of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In humble but unconstrained acknowledgement of the Divine will, the Christian Church felt itself bound to observe it; and though fettered by no testaments of law or legal bondage[1], kept it nevertheless in the spirit of the Gospel-liberty—a sacred liberty best asserted by such a commemoration.

Thus then Sunday in every week—the Lord's Day, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου, ἡ κυριακή, *Dies Dominica*, and simply *Dominica*, was the great festival of the Christian. It was set apart by him as a weekly commemoration, first of all of his Lord's Resurrection (with which was associated, at least in the early Church—see the allusions in the Epistle of Barnabas, c. xv.[2]—the hope of the second coming of the Lord); and secondly, of the first outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. By the 2nd Century the observance of the Sunday had become universal in the Church (see Justin M. *Apol.* I. c. lxvii.[3], compared with

nici ex 1 Cor. xvi. 2, Act. xx. 7, et Apoc. i. 10. Regiom. 1754; J. B. Albert, *De Celebratione Sabbati et Diei Dominici inter veteres et recentiores.* Viteb. 1772; and C. C. L. Franke, *De Diei Dominici apud veteres Christianos celebratione.* Hal. 1826. (These three treatises are also to be found in *Volbeding, Thesaurus cet.* T. I. 1846. nr. 2—4).

[1] It is only the small party of the ultra-reformers that while it ignores festivals altogether, observes the Sunday with Sabbatical severity, and therein leans towards the rigour of the Old Testament; whereas the Augsburgh Confession, Art. 28, and Luther's Larger Catechism, 3rd Commandment, insists upon the true Christian moderation of the ancient Church in the matter of the observance of the Lord's Day.

[2] The words of the Old Testament, "He rested on the seventh day," allude, says St Barnabas, to this: When His Son shall come and hold judgment, and shall do away with the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, then will he rest gloriously on the seventh day, and then, and not before, shall we be able truly to keep the Sabbath. The Sabbaths now are not delightful to Him; none will be truly such until resting from all His works He shall have begun the eighth day, *i. e.* in the other world. (After this commence the passages quoted p. 125, note 2.)

[3] Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα. (ἐπειδὰν—these words are added by Justin Martyr in order to explain the festival of Sunday—πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας

Plinii *Epistoll.* x. 96 [*al.* 97[1]]; Theophilus Antioch. *ad Autolyc.* ii. c. 17; *Constitutt. Apostoll.* ii. 69, v. 15, 20, vii. 23, viii. 33). In the writings of the early apostolical fathers we already find it spoken of as a matter of course (Barnabas, *Epist.* c. xv.[2], and Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magnes.* c. ix.[3]). It is, however, in the New Testament itself[4] that the first traces of its observance are to be found, as for instance in John xx. 26[5]; Acts xx. 7[6]; 1 Cor. xvi. 2[7], and still more distinctly, Revelation i. 10[8], where it is even spoken of with the distinctive title of the Lord's Day.

The celebration of the Sunday was commenced by the Faithful meeting together for the worship of God[9]. As it was a day of joy, all fasting was strictly prohibited (Tertullian, *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii.[10], compared with *Canones Apostol.* c. lxv.[11], and the decrees of later councils[12], and

κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη).

[1] Affirmabant—is Pliny's report of the Christians to the Emperor Trajan,—hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.

[2] Διὸ καὶ ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ (the following is added, not as a terrestrial event of the self-same day, but as a fact inseparably connected with the Resurrection, and as in this connexion constituting the 8th spiritual day, alluded to in the note on the preceding page) φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς.

[3] Εἰ οὖν οἱ παλαίοις γράμμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ.

[4] See the treatise by Arnoldt, s. 151, n. 1.

[5] The statement μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ (after *i. e.* Christ's Resurrection, and consequently on a Sunday) πάλιν ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

[6] The statement that Paul preached ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων (therefore on a Sunday) συνηγμένων ἡμῶν κλάσαι ἄρτον.

[7] The exhortation κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων (*i. e.* on every Sunday) ἕκαστος ἡμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων, κ. τ. λ.

[8] Ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

[9] That every inhabitant of a town who (in civitate positus) tres dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit, should be regarded for a certain period as excommunicated, is the regulation of the *Concil. Eliberitan.* a. 305, can. 21.

[10] Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus vel de geniculis adorare.

[11] Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων...καθαιρείσθω, εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφοριζέσθω.

[12] The *Concil. Gangrense*, about or after 362, can. 18, says: εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. The *Concil. Carthag.* iv. a. 398 (*Statuta Eccl. Ant.*) c. 64: Qui dominica die studiose jejunat, non credatur catholicus. The *Concil.*

also Epiphan. *Expositio Fidei*, c. xxii.[1]) Prayer was said by the people standing (Irenæus, *Fragm. de Paschate*[2], compared with Tertull. *ibid.*, *Concil. Nic.* can. 20[3], and *Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 59). As early as by the end of the 2nd Century all work and labour on the Sunday was regarded as a sinful tempting of God (Tertull. *de Oratione*, c. xxiii.[4]). Somewhat later, the 29th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, although forbidding the observance of the Jewish Sabbath on Saturdays, nevertheless enjoined that Sunday should be honoured by *all possible* abstinence from worldly business[5]; while in the same spirit essentially, the decree of the *Concil. Aurelianense* iii. (anno 538, can. 28), forbids and discourages everything like Judaistic severity in the observance of the Lord's Day[6].

Long before this date, however, the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 321 (see his law in the *Codex Justinian.* iii. 12. 3[7], compared with the other law in the *Codex Theodos.* ii. 8. 1[8]) had ordered a cessation on this day of all judicial

Bracar. I. a. 563, can. 4: Si quis natalem Christi secundum carnem non vere honorat, sed honorare se simulat jejunans in eodem die et in dominico,...anathema sit.

[1] Τὰς δὲ κυριακὰς ἀπάσας τρυφερὰς ἡγεῖται ἡ ἁγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, καὶ οὐ νηστεύει.

[2] Τὸ δὲ ἐν κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ, σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναστάσεως·...ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνων ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] Ἐπειδή τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ.

[4] Die dominico resurrectionis non abisto tantum (genu flectendo), sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus.

[5] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας εἴγε δύναιντο σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί.

[6] Quia persuasum est populis, die dominico agi cum caballis et bobus et vehiculis itinera non debere, neque ullam rem ad victum præparare, vel ad nitorem domus vel hominis pertinentem ullatenus exercere, quæ res quia ad judaicam magis, quam ad observantiam christianam pertinere probatur, id statuimus, ut die dominico, quod ante fieri licuit, liceat.

[7] Omnes judices urbanæque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere licenterque inserviant ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cœlesti provisione concessa.

[8] Here all judicial proceedings in which Christian love and fidelity might be put in practice, are expressly allowed on Sundays, or rather commanded. Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem solis...altercantibus jurgiis et noxiis partium

and other public business, and subsequently (Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iv. 18 sq.[1]), he also forbade all such military exercises as would interfere with the public worship of the Christian soldiers. A later imperial law, A.D. 386 (*Cod. Theodos.* viii. 8. 3[2]), still more strictly prohibited the performance of any public business on Sundays, while a contemporary law (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 5. 2[3]), whose requirements were still more rigorously enforced by a later one of A.D. 425, *Cod. Theodos.* xv. 5. 5[4], also forbade all public amusements on Sundays or other festivals[5]. All the requisitions of the state, however, were surpassed in rigour by the penalties enacted against the violation of a strict observance of the Sabbath by the *Concil. Matisconense* (Maçon) ii. A.D. 585, can. 1[6].

2 From the Jewish Christians probably[7] there arose

contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jucundum est, eo die, quæ sunt maxime votiva, compleri, atque ideo emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant, et super his rebus acta non prohibeantur.

[1] Τὴν δέ γε σωτήριον ἡμέραν... τὰ στρατιωτικὰ πάντα διὰ σπουδῆς τιμᾷν διδάσκων, τοῖς μὲν τῆς ἐνθέου; μετέχουσι πίστεως ἀκωλύτως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καρτερεῖν μετεδίδου σχολῆς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς εὐχάς, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμποδὼν γιγνομένου, συντελεῖν. Τοῖς δὲ μήπω τοῦ θείου λόγου μετασχοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Solis die, quem dominicum rite dixere majores, omnium omnino litium, negotiorum, conventionum quiescat intentio, debitum publicum privatumque nullus efflagitet, nec apud ipsos quidem arbitros vel in judiciis flagitatos vel sponte delectos ulla sit agnitio jurgiorum.

[3] Nullus solis die populo spectaculum præbeat, nec divinam veneration confecta solemnitate confundat.

[4] Dominico, qui septimanæ totius primus est dies, et Natali atque Epiphaniorum Christi, Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus...omni theatrorum atque circensium voluptate per universas urbes earundem populis denegata, totæ Christianorum ac fidelium mentes Dei cultibus occupentur. (At a later date, A. D. 469, the *Cod. Justinian.* III. 12, 11, amissio militiæ proscriptioque patrimonii).

[5] Cf. J. K. Irmischer, *Staats- und Kirchenverordnungen über die Christliche Sonntagsfeier.* Abth. 1. Erl. 1839.

[6] Si quis vestrum hanc salubrem exhortationem parvi penderit aut contemptui tradiderit, sciat se pro qualitatis merito principaliter a Deo puniri, et deinceps sacerdotali quoque iræ implacabiliter subjacere; si causidicus fuerit, irreparabiliter causam omittet; si rusticus aut servus, gravioribus fustium ictibus verberabitur; si clericus aut monachus, mensibus sex a consortio suspendetur fratrum cet.

[7] The Ebionites at least still retained the observance of the Sabbath, connecting with it the Sunday: cf. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 27; Irenæus, *adv. H.* I. 26, and Epiphanius, *Hær.* 30.

a custom in the Church of solemnly observing, besides Sunday, the old Jewish Sabbath[1]—or Saturday (*Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 59[2], v. 20[3], vii. 23[4]), and indeed especially by not fasting on it[5], and by standing during prayer (*Constitutt. Apost. ibid.*[6], compared with *Canones Apostol.* c. lxv.[7]); a practice which even Montanism gave its concurrence to (Tertull. *de Jejun.* c. xv.[8], and compare *Marcion.* iv. 12); and which, as being generally the pervading distinction which the ancient Church made between Sunday and Sabbath, is another clear evidence how far the ancient Church was from adopting in its celebration of Sunday the rigour of the old Jewish Sabbath. In some places there was public worship on this day (Epiphan. *Exp. Fidei*, c. xxiv.[9], compared with *Constitutt. Apost. ibid.*), and this not merely in the East[10]. The Western Church, on the other hand, and

[1] Cf. H. Bartel, *De Sabbato Christianorum.* Viteb. 1731; and J. B. Albert (ob. s. 151, n. 1).

[2] Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστασίμῳ, τῇ κυριακῇ, σπουδαιοτέρως ἀπαντᾶτε, αἶνον ἀναπέμποντες τῷ Θεῷ.

[3] Πᾶν μέντοι σάββατον ἄνευ τοῦ ἑνὸς (*i. e.* with the exception of the Saturday in Passion Week, which, as being the day in which her Lord lay in the grave, was kept by the Church as a solemn festival) καὶ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες συνόδους εὐφραίνεσθε.

[4] Τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι το μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως.

[5] On the duty of resting from all manual labour on the Sabbath, the Eastern Church does not appear to have agreed. While the *Constitutt. Apost.* VII. 33, order that: Οἱ δοῦλοι σάββατον καὶ κυριακὴν σχολαζέτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας, the *Concil. Laodic.* c. 29, decrees: οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς Ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν. (In the Western Church, St Gregory, at a later date, designates as anti-Christian the requisition of those who in die sabbati aliquid operari cohiberent.)

[6] The unqualified parallelising of the Lord's Day and the Sabbath in the passages already quoted from the *Constitutt.*, and also in VIII. 33, is of itself a general proof of this assertion.

[7] Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου (the Saturday of Passion Week) καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφοριζέσθω.

[8] Duas in anno hebdomades xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet sabbatis et dominicis, offerimus Deo.

[9] Ἐν τισι δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σάββασι συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

[10] As generally, according to Augustin, *Epist.* 36 (*al.* 86) *ad Casul.* § 31, there were even in the Western Church some who kept the Saturday after the manner of the East (*i. e.* by not fasting on it), so he too speaks of it as the practice of the African Church

especially the Roman[1], to shew its opposition to Judaism, kept Saturday as a fast[2]. At a very early date this point became a matter of controversy between these two great divisions of the Church[3]—for after that the Roman Bishop Innocentius I. (A.D. 402—417) had in a Decretal[4] legalized the Sabbatical fast, while the *Concilium Trull. quinisextum*, can. 55[5], came to a resolution directly opposed to

that ad sabbatum maxime hi solent convenire, qui esuriunt verbum Dei.

[1] Romana et nonnullæ occidentis ecclesiæ, says St Augustin, a. a. o.

[2] This is intimated by way of reproach even by Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. xiv. and is still more distinctly asserted by Victorinus, a bishop of Pannonia, in the third century, in the *Fragm. de Fabrica Mundi* (Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, T. III. p. 237): Hoc die (septimo) solemus superponere [this word signifies, first and originally, a fast observed with much rigour, as in the case of the Lenten Fast, and secondly, fasting in general; cf. Bingham, *Origines*, T. IX. p. 229], idcirco ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus; to which is appended the following remark: ne quid cum Judæis sabbatum observare videamur; and soon afterwards it was regularly enjoined in the Spanish Church by the *Concil. Eliberit.* can. 26: Errorem (that, *viz.* of certain parties who did not rigorously observe the Sabbath as a fast-day, and even regarded it as a festival) placuit corrigi, ut omni sabbati die jejuniorum superpositionem [others in the same sense use the simple term superpositiones] celebremus.

[3] Occasioned by some oriental Christians in the West (Tertullian, *De Orat.* c. xxiii.). Of later times, see especially, Augustin, *Ep.* xxxvi. Cf. P. Quesnel, *De Jejunio Sabbati in Eccl. Rom. observ.* and an Appendix to Leon. M. *Opp.* T. II. p. 283sqq.—That moreover the *whole* Western Church did not share the sentiments of the Roman Church is clear from St Augustin, *ibid.* § 31, 32. He speaks of varietas, ut alii, sicut maxime populi orientis,...mallent relaxare jejunium, alii jejunare, sicut Romana et nonnullæ occidentis ecclesiæ; while he goes on to say: Contingit maxime in Africa, ut una ecclesia vel unius regionis ecclesiæ alios habeant sabbato prandentes, alios jejunantes. At the close of this letter he especially mentions it as a custom of the Church of Milan, *not* to fast, where he adduces St Ambrose's explanation on this head: Quando hic sum, non jejuno sabbato, quando Romæ sum, jejuno sabbato, et ad quamcunque ecclesiam veneritis, ejus morem servate; just as he himself in the opening of his Epistle, § 2, had advanced the opinion: In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.

[4] Innoc. *Epist. ad Decentium*, § 4: Sabbato jejunandum esse, ratio evidentissima demonstrat..... Non ergo nos negamus sexta feria (on the Friday) jejunandum, sed dicimus et sabbato hoc agendum cet.

[5] Ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς νηστείαις τοῖς ταύτης σάββασι νηστεύειν [so

that of the Roman Church, this difference among others was the alleged cause of the disruption of unity between the East and West[1].

Besides Sunday, the ancient Church—in unceasing remembrance of the events of Good Friday—kept two other weekly commemorations. To commemorate Christ's sufferings and death and the events which preceded it, she kept as semi-festivals, or rather days of abstinence and penitence[2], the Friday and Wednesday of every week—*feria sexta*[3], ἡ παρασκευή, *parasceve*, the προσάββατον of the Jews, עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת[4], and *feria quarta*, ἡ τετράς. Both[5] of these days, by a figure borrowed from the image of the *Militia Christianorum*, were designated as *dies stationum*, or days of watching[6]. On these days the Christians met together

that they did not even *fast* on the Eves of the Sundays in Lent]: ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ, κ.τ.λ.; and then in condemnation of the custom of the Roman Church, follows the solemn appeal to c. 65 of the *Canones Apostolici*, which has already been quoted p. 128, note 7.

[1] Moreover in modern times the Church since the Reformation has generally fixed for the Saturday its more private and solemn preparations (such especially as confession) for the celebration of the succeeding festival.

[2] According to Petrus Alexandrin. (circ. 300) in *Fragm.* of his λόγος εἰς τὸ πάσχα (in Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, T. III. p. 343), it was the custom to keep τὴν μὲν τετράδα διὰ τὸ γενόμενον συμβούλιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν διὰ τὸ πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. According to Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei*, c. 22: ἐπειδήπερ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ τετράδι συνελήφθη ὁ Κύριος καὶ τῷ προσαββάτῳ ἐσταυρώθη.

[3] *Feriæ*, originally perhaps the days of Easter Week (cf. § 24. 2), since these days were without exception festivals: from this the use of the term passed in later Latinity to the days of any week, so that *feria prima* was Sunday, *secunda*, Monday, and so on till Saturday, the *sabbatum*.

[4] The term παρασκευή, *paraseeve*, in its original Jewish signification, as a day of preparation before the Sabbath, was received among the Christians as a designation absolutely of Fridays. In this sense it is already employed by Tertullian, *c. Marcionem*, IV. 12; and still later, Victorinus Petavionensis, *fragm. de Fabrica Mundi* (in Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, T. III. p. 237) says expressly: Dies sextus parasceve appellatur.

[5] And indeed Friday does appear to have been held in greater respect by the early Christians. At least Origen, *c. Cels.* VIII. c. 22, where he speaks of the Christian Festivals, mentions only Sundays and Fridays, Easter and Whitsuntide (τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν κυριακῶν ἢ παρασκευῶν ἢ τοῦ πάσχα ἢ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα).

[6] *Statio*, afterward also employed in a special sense either

for common prayer and the worship of God, but (as was natural) they did not everywhere, and much less at a later date, observe the same form[1]. It was also the practice to fast till three o'clock p. m. (*semi-jejunia*)—according to Tertull. *de Jejun.* c. i.[2] The Montanists maintained their fast up to a still later hour—as indeed they were the only body among the Christians of these times who, by law, enforced the several observances of these festivals, and especially that of fasting[3].

Moreover by the Christian Church these days were observed without any legal compulsion not merely in the very earliest centuries, but, as is clear from the already adduced testimonies of an Athanasius, a Basilius, and a Socrates[4], they were also kept in the 4th and indeed 5th Century. Fasting on these days was, moreover, especially insisted on by Epiphanius, *Expos. Fid.* c. xxii.[5] Accordingly, it is still the practice of the Lutheran Church to distinguish

generally to signify a fasting associated with prayer (thus e. g. *Herma Pastor*, l. III. sim. *5*, n. 1: Quid est statio? et dixi: jejunium), or particularly in the plural *stationes*, as distinguished from *jejunia*, in the sense of *semijejunia* (e. g. Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. xiv.: Cur stationibus quartam et sextam dicamus et jejunis parasceven?)

[1] In Alexandria, according to Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22: αὖθις δὲ τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ παρασκευῇ γραφαί τε ἀναγινώσκονται καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταῦτα ἑρμηνεύουσι, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται, εἶτα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς. Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, c. 81, speaks of a celebration of παρασκευή, ἀγρυπνούντων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σχολαζόντων. Basilius Magnus, *Ep.* 93, says quite absolutely: ἡμεῖς μέντοι γε τέταρτον καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν· ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τετράδι, ἐν παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ.

[2] Arguunt nos, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producamus.

[3] Cf. Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. ii., where he even denounces the practice of the so-called *Physici*, who indeed in evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus (subsequently he expressly mentions quartam feriam et sextam), et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum christianorum, but still abolitis legalibus et propheticis vetustatibus, so that it was their wish that fasting should be observed, indifferenter ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque.

[4] To this may be added, moreover, the testimony among others, of St Chrysostom (*Homil.* v. *in* 1 *Tim.* and elsewhere).

[5] Δι' ὅλου μὲν τοῦ ἔτους ἡ νηστεία φυλάττεται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, φημὶ δὲ τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτῳ ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης. Only, he adds, the 50 days from Easter to Whitsunday forms an exception; ἐν αἷς οὔτε γονυκλισίαι γίνονται, οὔτε νηστεία προστέτακται.

them by special services [while the Anglican does so by adding the Litany to her daily morning prayers].

Sect. XXIV. ff.—ANNUAL FESTIVALS.

Sect. XXIV.—THE EASTER CYCLE.

Of all yearly festivals, the one which was the earliest and which also was most universally and most solemnly observed, was that of Easter—*the Pascha or Passah*[1]—of

[1] The name πάσχα (from the Hebrew פֶּסַח, in the Aramaic form of פַּסְחָא, originally signifying a merciful passing by, which the Vulgate renders by *transitus*, the Greek Fathers by διάβασις, ὑπερβασία, διαβατήριον, and then, the Jewish feast in commemoration of the passing over the Firstborn in Egypt, which was kept from the 14th to the 21st of the month Nisan; but strictly denoting only the Paschal Feast, properly so called, on the Eve of the 14th of Nisan, whereas the seven following days were more correctly called the Feast of Unleavened Bread חַג הַמַּצּוֹת), designated in the first instance the Jewish feast of the Passover and the following festival. It was quite natural, therefore, on the part of the Christians, to employ the same name to designate the Festival of Christ's Death and Resurrection, which fell upon the same days (Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. xiv.), although the derivation of the word from πάσχειν which is usually given by the Church Fathers (Tertullian, *adv. Judæos*, c. x., cf. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 23, and Chrysost. *Homil.* v. *in* 1 *Tim.* iii.) can hardly have been seriously intended (cf. Augustin, *Ep.* lv. § 2). This verbal play seems to have owed its origin to 1 Cor. v. 7, (cf. Tertull. *c. Marcion.* iv. 40, and v. 7, and Justin M. *Dialog.* c. cxi.). By Tertullian (*De Orat.* c. xiv.), the day of the crucifixion especially is designated as the *dies paschæ*. In later writers Pascha is employed as equivalent with Easter, since now a distinction was made—as for instance by Leo the Great—between πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, *pascha dominicæ passionis*, and πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον, *pascha dominicæ resurrectionis*. The modern term *Easter* is perhaps most properly derived from the old Teutonic *urstan*, to rise, although on the other hand, Beda Venerabilis, *De Ratione Temporum*, c. xiii., would derive it from the old Anglo-Saxon goddess *Eostre*, or *Ostera* (cf. Flügge, *über die Ostera der alten Sachsen*, in Stäudlin's *Beitrr. zur Philos. u. Gesch.* Bd. iii. s. 225 ff.), whose festival, which had for its object to obtain a prolific and fruitful season, fell about the time of the vernal equinox. Beda says: Eosturmonath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum (vet. Angl.) quæ Eostre vocabatur et cui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit, a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiquæ observationis vocabulo gaudia novæ solemnitatis vocantes. Others, with little probability, have derived the word either from *hostia* (1 Cor. v. 7), or from *ostium*, because originally the Church

all Church festivals decidedly the chief one of ancient Christianity[1].

1 With the ancient Church it was a point of great difficulty to determine the time for keeping Easter.

The Jewish Christians kept their commemoration of Christ's death on the morrow of the fourteenth of their month Nisan, on which day, as Jews by descent, they still continued to eat the Passover[2]. And this they did whatever day of the week the 15th might happen to fall upon, and on the day after this commemoration of Christ's death they kept the memorial of His Resurrection (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23[3]). The Gentile Christians, on the other hand, neglected the observance of the Passover as belonging to Judaism[4], and kept the feast of the Resurrection invariably

year began with Easter, or from the Destroying Angel passing over the doors—or even from ὦ σωτήρ (Riez, *Cogitatt. de Orig. voc. Ostern.* in the *Biblioth. Brem.* VII. 449), &c., while that from *ostern, i. e.* easterly, with the notion of rising up (Resurrection), coincides pretty nearly with the one offered above.

[1] Cf. Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xix. *in fun. patris*, *Opp.* T. I. p. 304, ed. Par. and *Orat.* XLII. *De Pasch.* T. I. p. 676; Chrysost. *Homil.* LXXXV. *de Pasch. Opp.* T. V. p. 587, ed. Savil. —Originally therefore the Church year commenced with the Easter Festival. See § 26, last note. In later times, however, there is a strong testimony to the high solemnity with which Easter was celebrated, in the fact that a law of the Church excluded from it all common commemorations of saints and martyrs, although they are concurrently commemorated at Christmas by the whole Church, and at Whitsuntide also, in the Eastern.

[2] And that Christ himself, immediately before His Passion kept the Paschal feast is undeniable, even though it be open to question whether it was the proper Jewish festival, or only a representative of it.

[3] Τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης αἱ παροικίαι, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας, σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο· ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὁποίᾳ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι.—On the subject of the Montanist's peculiar time of celebrating Easter, see F. Piper, *Geschichte des Osterfestes*, &c. (see below, p. 136), Berl. 1845, s. 75 ff. (and also Wieseler's review of this work, in Reuterschen, *Repertor.* 1846. Juli s. 32 ff).

[4] This clearly follows from what Eusebius says in the above passage, immediately after the words just quoted: (οὐκ ἔθους ὄντος τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κρατῆσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσαις· ὡς μὴ δ' ἑτέρᾳ προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέραν τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι).

on a Sunday, and the memory of the Saviour's death always on a Friday[1]. The practice of the Jewish Christians was adopted throughout Asia Minor, and also in some of the districts of Eastern Asia[2]: that of the Gentile Christians in the West and especially in Rome[3]. The claim, however, which the Jewish Christians made for the permanent observance of the former, founded upon Jewish customs, or on a pretended accommodation thereto by Christ Himself, is evidently erroneous, while, on the other hand, it is now universally admitted that the view and practice of the Gentile Christians in its totality is far worthier of the free spirit of the Christian Church[4].

It was not until the middle of the 2nd Century that attention was roused to this difference of practice (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24[5]), when it immediately became the subject of written discussion (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26[6]); and indeed, before

[1] This is quite clear from the course of the subsequent controversy with regard to Easter. See p. 135.

[2] See Euseb. *ib.* (note 3, p. 133).

[3] See p. 135.

[4] With respect to the historical facts, the case stands just the same in regard to the difference of observing Easter by the Gentile Christians and by the Jewish Christians, as it does in that of the weekly festival being confined to Sunday, or embracing both Saturday and Sunday. The beginning, and the whole course of the dispute in both instances, is strikingly analogous. Cf. also on this subject, G. Daniel, *Sur la Discipline des Quartodecimans pour la célébration de la Pâque* (in R. P. Daniel, *Recueil de divers Ouvrages Philos., Theol., Hist.* Par. 1724. T. III. p. 473 sqq.); C. A. Heumann, *Vera Descriptio priscæ contentionis inter Romam et Asiam de vero Paschate.* Gott. 1745. (see also his *Nova Sylloge diss.* P. I. p. 156 sqq.); G. A. Teller, *Pars actorum inter Asiaticas et reliquas Ecclesias super Controvers. sacr. Pasch. temp.* Helmst. 1767. 4; and A. Neander, *Erläuterungen über Veranlassung und Beschaffenheit der ältesten Passahstreitigkeiten in der christlichen Kirche* (in Kirchenhistorischen Archiv. 1823. St. 2. s. 91 ff.)

[5] Eusebius here gives us a letter of Irenæus, in which the latter informs us of a difference on this point having existed between Polycarp of Smyrna, who maintained the Jewish Christian rule, and Anicetus of Rome, as a supporter of the opposite practice; but that both, notwithstanding their adherence to the opposite practices of their respective Churches, still preserved a most fraternal communion.

[6] Between Melito, bishop of Sardes, the advocate of the preachers of the Jewish Christians on the one hand, and on the other, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and others (see the fragmentary remains of this controversy in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dufresne. Par. 1688).

the close of this century, gave rise to a formal controversy between the Churches of Rome and of Asia Minor (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23, 24[1]). On the side of the former the Churches of Cesarea, Jerusalem, Pontus, Osrhoëne, Corinth, Tyre, Ptolemais and Alexandria, now ranged themselves[2]. Both sides retained, however, their own customs[3], until at last the practice, on which from the very first the promise of ultimate victory was stamped (which promise became more deeply impressed, as Judaism, in spite of its struggles to maintain itself, sunk constantly in deeper neglect and decay), gradually attained externally also to a wider recognition. At last the Œcumenical Council of Nice [A.D. 325], following the authority of the first canon of the Council of Arles [A.D. 314[4]], and, although probably not uninfluenced by the known wishes of the Emperor[5], yet principally from a regard to unity (εἰς ἕνωσιν, Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxx. § 4), established for the whole Catholic Church one rule for the observance of Easter. It condemned and rejected the old Jewish mode

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 23, having stated the subject-matter of the controversy (p. 163), goes on to observe: *σύνοδοι δὲ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τ' αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο*, and then c. 24, reviews the whole dispute. The party of Asia Minor was represented by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, (who asserted of a vast multitude of the fathers and bishops of the Asiatic Church: *οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*). The opposite party had its head in Victor, bishop of Rome, who carried the dispute so far as to excommunicate his opponents, on which account he was censured by Irenæus (see the Epistle of the latter in Euseb. v. 24).

[2] The bishops of all these places, with Theophilus of Cæsarea and Narcissus of Jerusalem at their head, were able to assert (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23): *ὥστε συμφώνως καὶ ὁμοῦ ἄγειν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν.*

[3] *Τηνικαῦτα γὰρ* — observes Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 16, speaking of the ante-Nicene times—*ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἕω πόλεσι διαφερόμενοί τινες περὶ τοῦτο, τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀπείχοντο κοινωνίας.*

[4] The Council thus writes to the Roman bishop Sylvester: Primo loco de observatione paschæ Domini, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur et juxta consuetudinem literas ad omnes tu dirigas.

[5] For especially — says Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 16,—the emperor Constantine, *χαλεπῶς ἔφερε πυνθανόμενος, τινὰς ἐναντίως πᾶσι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἄγειν ἑορτήν.* That however these *τινὲς* were still a very considerable party is clear from Athanas. *Epist. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc.* c. v., where he remarks: *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας ἐχώλευον περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐποίουν τὸ πάσχα.*

of reckoning, whose adherents had long been branded with the opprobrious title of *Quartodecumani*[1]; although, as was naturally to be expected, the decision of this council did not at once lead to its abandonment everywhere[2].

At the same time the Nicene Council attempted to remove another difficulty connected with the time of observing Easter[3]. Whatever agreement had been effected

[1] No decree of the Nicene Council on this subject is to be found in the *Canones Synodi Nicænæ*. The above account of the purport of the Nicene decree, which was published in private letters, may however be inferred from the *Epistola Syn. Nic. ad Eccl. Alexandr.* in Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 9, and Socrates, *H. E.* I. 9 (where it is said: εὐαγγελιζόμεθα δὲ ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάσχα, ὅτι ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς κατωρθώθη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος· ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἑῴᾳ ἀδελφοὺς, τοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πρότερον ποιοῦντας, συμφώνως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίου μεθ' ἡμῶν φυλάττουσι τὸ πάσχα, ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγειν), as also from the *Epist. Constantini ad Ecclesias de Syn. Nic.* in Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 10, Socrates, *H. E.* I. 9, and especially in Euseb. *Vita Const.* III. 18: (Ἔνθα καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἁγιωτάτης ἡμέρας γενομένης ζητήσεως, ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας πάντας τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν....Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τὴν ἁγιωτάτην ἐκείνην ἑορτὴν τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑπομένους συνηθείᾳ πληροῦν'...μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ἡμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου, κ. τ. λ.)

[2] It is true the *Concil. Antiochen.* a. 341, can. 1, published a rigorous edict against all those who refused to adopt the decision of the Nicene Council (which is here regarded as a formal and binding decree), and threatened them with excommunication (πάντας τοὺς τολμῶντας παραλύειν τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συγκροτηθείσης...περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἑορτῆς τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάσχα, ἀκοινωνήτους καὶ ἀποβλήτους εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ ἐπιμένοιεν φιλονεικότερον ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς τὰ καλῶς δεδογμένα); but this very edict of itself proves that there was still a great number of dissentients who are subsequently spoken of by the *Concil. Laodic.* c. 7 (cf. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 50), as the αἵρεσις τῶν Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατιτῶν, *Quartodecimani*, because they with the Jews made the 14th of the month Nisan the beginning of the Easter Festival. Subsequently too, the 2nd Constantinopolitan Council, A.D. 381, can. 7, expressly speaks of the Quartodecimani (εἴτουν Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίτας) as heretics, and so also Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 50, speaks generally of them, and *Hæres.* 70, of the Audeani in particular, as the most obstinate in the maintenance of their errors. And nearly about the same date, St Chrysostom (*Homil. εἰς τοὺς τὰ πρῶτα πάσχα νηστεύοντας, Opp.* T. II. p. 616) speaks of a party at Antioch holding pretty nearly the same principles, under the name of πρωτοπασχῖται, and in the *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. 5, 6, edicts occur prohibiting the keeping of Easter according to the Jewish reckoning.

[3] Cf. (J. van der Hagen) *Dis-*

as to the way of observing Easter, still, as yet, no definite day or month had been fixed for it, and the mathematical calculations of Easter, and the Paschal Cycle still gave room for manifold difficulties, and consequently to difference and confusion. As early as at the end of the 3rd Century Hippolytus in his *Canon Paschalis* had made an imperfect attempt to determine and to fix the time of Easter. Soon afterwards the Alexandrian clergy, following the impulse given them by Dionysius of Alexandria towards the end of the 3rd Century (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 20), set to work to discover some precise mathematical data for regulating the observance of Easter. And their calculations, which were continually worked out to greater precision, became eventually the rule for the whole Church. The Nicene Council accordingly commissioned the bishops of Alexandria to calculate every year the time of observing Easter, and to make known the result in due time to the whole Church[1]. Not-

sertatt. de Cyclis Paschalibus. Amst. 1736; and, especially with reference to the methods of calculating Easter—F. Piper, *Kirchenrechnung.* Berl. 1841. cf. with his *Geschichte des Osterfestes seit der Kalenderreformation.* Berl. 1845, (and the review of this work by Wieseler, in the *Reuterschen Repertorium für die Theolog. Liter.* 1846. Juli s. 32 ff.); also L. Ideler, *Handbuch der Mathematischen, u. s. w. Chronologie.* Berl. 1826. Bd. II. s. 191 ff.

[1] This is stated of the Nicene Council by Cyrillus Alexandr. in the *Prologus Paschalis*, addressed to the Emperor on the subject of the mode of calculating Easter, by A. Bucherius, *De Doctrina Temporum Commentarius.* Antw. 1634. p. 482, and by Leo Magnus, *Epist.* xciv. *ad Mercianum*, where Leo observes that the Nicene fathers had commissioned the Alexandrian bishops to determine the true method of reckoning Easter, on the ground that the necessary learning for the purpose was to be found in Alexandria before all other places: (omnem hanc curam Alexandrino episcopo delegantes, quoniam apud Ægyptios hujus supputationis antiquitus tradita esse videbatur peritia, per quem quotannis dies prædictæ solennitatis sedi apostolicæ indicaretur). That nothing of the kind is mentioned in the *Epistola Syn. Nic. ad Eccl. Alexandr.* which has come down to us, and that no notice is taken thereof by one contemporary writer, does not furnish certainly any irrefragable proof of the falsehood of the statement. At all events it is quite certain that the Alexandrian fathers had for a considerable period determined the Paschal cycle, and published the *epistolas paschales*, or ἑορταστικάς. This yearly proclamation of the time of Easter, which was generally made on the Feast of the Epiphany, was called *indictio paschalis*, or *indictio festorum mobilium*, inasmuch as the time of the other moveable feasts depended on that of Easter. And such practice of proclaiming the moveable feasts, seems to have been esta-

withstanding, the Romans[1] still continued to adhere to their own uncertain and inconsistent principles[2]. Accordingly in the year 387 there was a difference of no less than a whole month and four days between the celebration of Easter at Alexandria and at Rome[3]. Long disputes and dissensions arose in consequence between the two Churches[4], until at last[5] in the 6th Century the Roman Church adopted the Alexandrian rule[6]; so that by the 8th Century the latter calculation prevailed throughout the whole Christian world, the Britons being the last to

blished as a law of the Church as early as in the 5th Century, since the *Concil. Carthagin.* v. a. 401, can. 7, requires the proclamation to be made in writing; upon which, still later, the *Concil. Aurelianense* iv. a. 541, can. 1, required that the publication should be yearly made on the festival of the Epiphany.—That no fixed principles were established for calculating Easter by the time of the Nicene Council, is at all events quite certain. Cf. C. W. F. Walch, *Decreti Nic. de Paschate explicatio* (in the *Nov. Commentt. soc. reg.* Gott. T. I. 1769. n. 70), and C. F. Schott, *Momentum Constitutionis Nic. de Tempore celebrandi Pasch.* Tub. 1770. 4.

[1] But herein they were by no means followed by the whole of the Western Church. For instance, St Ambrose of Milan declares, A. D. 387, *Epist.* 23, § 15: Secundum *Ægyptios* celebraturi sumus dominicam paschæ cet.

[2] Cf. Norisius, *De cyclo Paschali Latino*, in s. *Opp.* Veron. 1729, fol.

[3] According to the Roman reckoning, Easter fell in this year on the 24th March, while according to the Alexandrian calculation it fell on the 25th April. Cf. p. 139, note 3.

[4] As for instance, between Leo the Great and the Alexandrian bishops (see especially Leonis *Epist.* xciv. xcv. cix.), in which however after urgently wishing (*Ep.* xcv.), ut in dissimulanter jubeat (imperator) Ægyptios admonere, ne in summæ festivitatis die aut dissensione aliqua aut transgressione peccetur, he nevertheless, with true Christian wisdom, gave up, quia studio unitatis et pacis malui orientalium definitioni acquiescere, quam in tantæ festivitatis observantia dissidere,...ut divinæ pacis consortio sicut una fide jungimur, ita una solemnitate feriemur.—*Epist.* cix. Cf. Rheinwald, *Archäol.* p. 179, &c.

[5] Confirmed still more by the *Victorius Aquitanus Canon paschalis* (A. D. 457), in its peculiar mode of calculation, which however was gradually approximating towards that of Alexandria. Cf. A. Bucherius, *De Doctr. Temporum Commentarius in Victorium Aqu.* Antw. 1634.

[6] Principally owing to the labours of Dionysius Exiguus, whose *Cyclus Dionysianus* has been published by J. G. Janus, with a *Historia Cycli Dionys.* Viteb. 1718, and Hal. 1769. Cf. also Dionysii *Epistolæ de ratione Paschæ*, ed. Bucherius, l. l. p. 485. The Dionysian canon was adopted by Rome A. D. 527, and soon after by the Church at Ravenna, and some other Italian Churches; cf. Norisii *Diss. de Cyclo Pasch. Ravenn.* in *Opp.* Veron. 1729. In the rest

adopt it[1]. From this time Easter was always and everywhere kept on the Sunday after the vernal full moon—that is, on the Sunday which follows next after the spring full moon—as the *terminus paschalis*—or the first full moon after the vernal equinox, the 21st of March, as the beginning of spring[2]. Accordingly the *termini paschales* are the 21st of March and the 18th of April[3]. Consequently the earliest and the latest possible celebration of Easter will fall respectively on the 22nd of March and the 25th of April. A more precise determination of Easter, however much to be desired, will be impracticable as long as the exact day of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection cannot be critically determined[4].

2 As concerns the celebration itself, the festival of

of Italy it was not adopted until the middle, and in Spain not before the end of the 6th century, whereas for Gaul, it was ordered by the *Concil. Aurelian.* IV. a. 541, can. 1: Placuit, ut sanctum pascha secundum lateculum *Victorii* ab omnibus sacerdotibus uno tempore celebretur.

[1] See their dispute on this subject with the Anglo-Saxon Church. Cf. J. Usher, *Antiquitat. Eccles. Britannicarum.* Lond. 1687.

[2] If the full moon itself should fall on a Sunday, then Easter was to be fixed for the following Sunday, *in order that the Christian festival might not coincide with the Jewish feast.* Cf. even Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 70, § 9 sqq. (According to Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 50, the celebration of a feast somewhat similar to the Jewish Paschal feast was similarly put off to the evening of the Great Saturday, in order to comply with the requisitions of the ancient Church, without however *keeping the festival in common with the Jews*, and at the same time, to relieve a little of the rigour of the previous fast).

[3] This had long been the *terminus* in the Alexandrian Church, whereas in the Roman, previous to the papacy of Leo, it had been the 18th March and 15th April; but the latest possible day was not 22nd of April, according to this *terminus*, but the 21st, because of the festival of the Natalis urbis Romæ.

[4] If according to Wieseler (see his review of Piper's work, referred to p. 136, note 3.—p. 32, compared with the *Chronologischer Synopse d. vier Evangelien.* Hamb. 1843), Christ actually rose from the dead on the 9th April, A. D. 30, then Easter ought, without regard to the Moon, to be kept invariably on the 9th April, or, if Easter must be observed on a Sunday, then when this day is not itself a Sunday, on the first Sunday after, or still better—(in order to furnish a more correct division of the civil year), on the preceding Sunday, and then the celebration of Easter would only fluctuate slightly from the 3rd to the 9th of April, inclusive.—Wieseler's *Chronological Results*, however, differ widely from those of G. Seyffarth, *Chronologia Sacra*, Lpz. 1846, who makes 22nd March the actual day of Christ's Resurrection.

Easter was from a very early period ushered in by a preparatory fast[1], which, for the sake of an analogy with Christ's forty days' fast in the wilderness (Matt. iv. 2) (Augustin, *Sermo* ccv.), and that of Moses (Exodus xxxiv. 28), and that of Elias (Hieronym. *on Isaiah* lviii. &c.[2])—was called τεσσαρακοστή, *Quadragesima*. Originally confined, according to Irenæus, *Epist. ad Victorem* (in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24[3]) to one or two days or even to forty hours[4], it was subsequently extended to three, as in Rome (Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22[5]), or to six, as in Illyria, Greece, Africa, and also Palestine (Socrates, *ibid.*, compared with Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 19[6]), or even to seven weeks, as in the East (Sozomen, *ibid.*[7]). Lastly, however, in the fifth Century, thirty-six days

[1] Cf. J. Filesaci *Diatriba de Quadragesima Christianorum*, in s. *Opuscc.* Par. 1614; G. de Dassel, *De jure Temporis Quadragesimalis.* Argent. 1617. 4; J. Dallæus, *De Jejuniis et Quadragesima.* Daventr. 1654. 12; J. J. Homberg, *De Quadragesima veterum Christianorum.* Helmst. 1677. 4.

[2] Assuredly not without reference to the mystical properties of the number four. (Agustin, *Epist.* lv. § 28).

[3] Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν (the latter passage, however, has by Ruffin been so interpreted in his version, as to give to the proper Quadragesimal fast the appearance at least of so early an authority: nonnulli etiam quadraginta [dies, according to the foregoing], ita ut horas diurnas nocturnasque computantes diem statuant). Καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγουυῖα, ἀλλα καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[4] At least Irepæus' contemporary, Tertullian, mentions distinctly and positively the fast on the day of Christ's death (*De Orat.* c. 14: dies paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est; compared with *De Jejun.* c. 14, above, p. 136, n. 6); though however the passage *De Jejun.* c. 2 (see above, p. 131, note 3), which treats of the ordinary Wednesday's and Friday's fast, appears to refer pre-eminently to the fast preceding Easter.

[5] Τὰς πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα νηστείας ἄλλως παρ' ἄλλοις φυλαττομένας ἔστιν εὑρεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρεῖς πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα ἑβδομάδας, πλὴν σαββάτου (?) καὶ κυριακῆς, συνημμένας νηστεύουσιν, κ.τ.λ.

[6] Οἱ δὲ—Socrates continues—ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ [to which Sozomen (*ibid.*) further adds: σὺν τοῖς Παλαιστινοῖς] πρὸ ἑβδομάδων ἓξ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα νηστείαν νηστεύουσι, τεσσαρακοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζοντες, κ.τ.λ.

[7] Οἱ δὲ ἑπτὰ νηστεύουσι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινοπόλει καὶ τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσι μέχρι Φοινίκων, says Sozomen, whereas Socrates, *ibid.*, goes on in more general terms to

of abstinence, and in the eighth a forty days' fast began to be observed in Rome, and from that city spread to all places[1]. The calm and repose resulting from a total abstinence from enjoyment during the fast[2], would, it was hoped, prove a fitting preparation for worthily celebrating the approaching festival, and for partaking of the Holy Communion at Easter[3]. With this end in view the faithful were also exhorted to diligent reading of Holy Scripture, to practise gentleness, forbearance, and works of mercy and charity (see Cæsarius Arelat. *Sermo* cxl. cxli. cxlvi. *in August. Append.*[4]; Leo

say: ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους, ἄλλοι πρὸ ἑπτὰ τῆς ἑορτης ἑβδομάδων τῆς νηστείας ἀρχόμενοι,...οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ αὐτοὶ τεσσαρακοστὴν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καλοῦσι.

[1] Gregor. M. *Homil. in Evangel.* I. 16, speaks of a 36 days' fast (A præsenti die usque ad paschalis solemnitatis gaudia sex hebdomadæ veniunt, quarum videlicet dies XLII veniunt, ex quibus sex dies dominici subtrahuntur, non plus in abstinentia quam xxxvi dies remanent),—and in truth, the seven weeks' fast (in reckoning which however, not only the Sundays, but the preceding Saturdays also, were omitted) was in the main of an Eastern origin. It was only in the papacy of Gregory II. that four days more were added. Now this forty days' fast (distinguished from all others by its admission into the Calendar, and especially by its comprising Good Friday as a great and solemn festival, and that a stricter abstinence, *superpositio*, ὑπέρθεσις, was observed) commenced with Ash-Wednesday, *Dies Cinerum*, which was the first day of the *carnisprivium*, and omitting the Sundays, ended with Easter Eve.

[2] At this season the whole outward demeanour of the Christian was changed. Οὐδαμοῦ — says Chrysostomus, *Hom.* 2 *in Genes.* —σήμερον θόρυβος, οὐδὲ κραυγὴ, οὐδὲ κρεῶν κατακοπαί, οὐδὲ μαγείρων δρόμοι· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀπελήλαται, καὶ εὐσχήμονά τινα καὶ κοσμίαν καὶ σώφρονα ἐλευθέραν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν μιμεῖται νῦν. Πόλις δὲ ἅπασα. Again, *Hom. de Anna.* I. (T. IV. p. 700)—τὴν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις εὐταξίαν μιμεῖται· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ ἀδόντων ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι, οὔτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θορυβούντων καὶ μεθυόντων, οὐ κραζόντων, οὐ μαχομένων· ἀλλὰ πολλὴν πανταχοῦ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔστιν ὁρᾶν.

[3] Οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστεύομεν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν σταυρὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἐπειδὴ μέλλομεν μυστηρίοις προσιέναι (Chrysostom, *Hom.* εἰς τοὺς τὰ πρῶτα πάσχα νηστεύοντας, *Opp.* T. I. p. 611).

[4] In diebus s. quadragesimæ in Domini lege, sicut scriptum est, die noctuque meditemur et cor nostrum divinæ legis dulcedine repleamus (*Serm.* 141).—Nec solum vobis sufficiat, quod in ecclesia divina lectiones auditis, sed etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legite aut alios legentes requirite et libenter audite (*S.* 140).—Illud ad perfectionem jejunii tacendum non est, ut, qui abstinemus et minime prandemus hoc tempore, prandia nostra pauperibus erogemus. Hæc enim est vera justitia, si te esuriente de tuo cibo alias saturetur (*S.* 146).—Simus (in his

Magn. *Sermo*[1]; Maximus Taurin. *Sermo* xliii.[2]; Chrysostom, *Homil.* iii. *de Statuis*[3], &c.) A mere external appearance of fasting, combined not unfrequently with secret excesses, and also with the luxurious enjoyment of the days immediately preceding the fast[4], and which at last became legally recognised, was strongly condemned, and is the subject of many an earnest remonstrance of the early Fathers of the Church (cf. Chrysostom, *Homil.* iii. *de Statuis*, and *Homil.* xx. xxx. *in Matth.*[5]; Augustin, *Sermo*[6] ccx., and elsewhere). In the greater cities, such as Antioch, for instance, daily service was observed in Chrysostom's time during the whole time of Lent[7], and we find enactments not only of the Church, but also of the State, against all profanations of this period (*Concil. Laodic.* can. 51, 52[8]; *Codex Theodos.* ix. 35. 4, 5[9]).

diebus) ad servulos mites, blandi ad extraneos, ad egenos misericordes, pacifici ad omnes; surgentes primo diluculo ad ecclesiam festinemus;...tota die sit nobis assidua vel oratio vel lectio (*S.* 146).

[1] Cessent vindictæ, remittantur offensæ; severitas lenitate, indignatio mansuetudine, discordia pace mutetur.

[2] Bene jejunat, qui fraternas injurias pacifici pectoris lenitate dimittit.

[3] Νηστεύεις; δεῖξόν μοι διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν. ποίων ἔργων; φησίν· ἐὰν ἴδῃς πένητα, ἐλέησον· ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἐχθρὸν, καταλλάγηθι... τί γὰρ ὄφελον, ὅταν μὲν ὀρνίθων καὶ ἰχθύων ἀπεχώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς δάκνωμεν καὶ κατεσθίωμεν.

[4] The origin of the Carnival (whether from *caro vale*, or from the *dies, ubi caro adhuc valet*; cf. J. C. Zeumer, *Bacchanalia Christianorum, vulgo das Carneval.* Jen. 1699. 4), of the fast-night, &c.

[5] Hom. 30, severely censures the conduct of those who μεγάλην ἐπὶ νηστείᾳ δόξαν ἑαυτοῖς περιτιθέναι σπουδάζουσιν, and in Hom. 20, he declares: οἶδα γὰρ, οἶδα πολλοὺς οὐ νηστεύοντας, καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένους μόνον,...καὶ τὰ τῶν νηστευόντων προσωπεῖα περικειμένους, κ. τ. λ.

[6] Sunt quidam observatores quadragesimæ deliciosi potius, quam religiosi, exquirentes novas suavitates magis, quam veteres concupiscentias castigantes;...jejunant, non ut solitam temperando minuant edacitatem, sed ut immoderatam differendo augeant aviditatem,...tanquam non sit quadragesima piæ humilitatis observatio, sed novæ voluptatis occasio (though however as it runs in Serm. 208, restringendæ sunt deliciæ, non mutandæ).

[7] In St Chrysostom's Homilies on Genesis (where, and especially in Homily ii., he avows it is not enough, ἵνα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐνταῦθα παραγινώμεθα), and in his Homilies *De Statuis*, εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρίαντας, we have a continued series of sermons on Fast Days.

[8] "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύριον γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.—"Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρα-

The Quadragesimal fast was closed by the *Great Week*[1] [Passion Week], ἑβδομὰς μεγάλη, *hebdomas magna*, *septimana major*[2]. Morning and evening prayers daily (Basil.

κοστῇ γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἐπιτελεῖν.

[9] Quadraginta diebus, qui auspicio cerimoniarum paschale tempus anticipant, omnis cognitio inhibeatur criminalium quæstionum. —Sacratis quadragesimæ diebus nulla supplicia sint corporis, quibus absolutio exspectatur animarum.

[1] Cf. G. Ludovici, *De Septimana Sancta*, von der Marterwoche. Lips. 1602; J. Fæs, *De Hebdomade magna libri tres*. Brem. 1695; J. M. Fischer, *Solemnia vet. Eccles. antepaschalia*. Lips. 1704; J. F. Mayer, *De Hebdomade magna*. Gryphisw. 1706 (also in Velbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. I. p. 1. Lips. 1846. nr. 11); J. C. Eisfeld, *De Hebd. magna*. Nordh. 1761; *Die heilige Charwoche nach dem Ritus der römisch-katholischen Kirche*. Münch. 1817.

[2] These names are first found in the *Constitutt. Apost.* VIII. 33, as also in *Homil.* 30 *in Genes.* c. x. The latter observes, it is called the great week not because of the length of its hours, οὐδὲ ἐπειδὴ πλείους ἡμέρας ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις; but on account of the greatness of the events which had happened in it, and by reason of the special devotion with which it was to be kept: Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ ὁ χρόνιος ἐλύθη πόλεμος, θάνατος ἐσβέσθη, κατάρα ἀνῃρέθη, τοῦ διαβόλου ἡ τυραννὶς κατελύθη, τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διηρπάγη, Θεοῦ καταλλαγὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γέγονεν, κ. τ. λ. Still it may at the same time be true, that the week was in some respects so called, because—as the order of the Roman Church also proves—it was sometimes usual to comprise under one festival the whole Easter festival, consisting of fifteen days (cf. Augustin, *Homil. in Dominic. in albis*: Peracti sunt dies feriati... Petimus vos, ut ita vivatis, tanquam qui Deo rationem reddituros vos sciatis de tota vita, non de solis istis quindecim diebus), although by this it was not usual to understand the whole sanctos paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero, vel sequuntur (*Cod. Theodos.* II. 8. 2), but merely the week before Easter. This week too, marked by the fact that each of its days are at the same time both fasts and festivals, naturally began properly with the Sunday, whereas in the Greek ordinal it commenced with the *feria secunda*. It also bore the further name of ἑβδομὰς τοῦ πάσχα (at least among the Greeks of later times, whereas among the Latins *septimana paschalis* is the week after Easter) or else τὸ πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, ἑβδομὰς τῶν ἁγίων παθημάτων, or *hebdomas crucis*, *hebdomas inofficiosa*, or *muta*, ἄπρακτος (so called from the cessation of all public business), *hebdomas nigra*, or *pœnosa* (on account of the sufferings of Christ, although probably not without reference to the penitential exercises of the season, or to the practice of remitting all civil penalties at this time), *hebdomas indulgentiæ* (so called from Christ's oblation for the sins of the world), *luctuosa* (partly because of the subject of the worship and commemoration, and partly because of the peculiar intonation of the morning hymns), *ultima* (as being the last week of the old Church year, or in the order of the temporal world, or of the Quadragesima), *authentica*

Magn. *περὶ νηστείας*, l. ii. T. II. p. 16[1]), profound silence, the cessation of all public business (Chrysostom, *Homil. εἰς ἑβδ. μεγάλ.*[2] compared with *Theodos.* ii. 8. 2, and *Cod. Justin.* iii. 12. 3), strict conscientious fasting (Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei*, § 22[3]), and the practice of different works of charity and mercy (Chrysostom, *ibid.*), especially on the part of the Emperors (Leo Magn. *Sermo* xxxix.[4], and *Codex Theod.* ix. 38. 3[5]), distinguished this week from all others.

It began with Palm Sunday[6] (*κυριακὴ* [or *ἡμέρα, ἑορτὴ*] *τῶν βαΐων, dominica palmarum*[7]), which was kept in commemoration of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, when for the last time before His Passion a halo of earthly glory shone around him. In the East this day was kept at so early a date as the 4th and 5th Centuries[8], but it was

(first called so in the *Officium Mediolanense*, with reference to the now established terminus of the Easter Cycle, or—equivalent with *canonizata*—to the Church's discipline).

[1] He mentions the *ἐωθιναί τε καὶ ἑσπεριναὶ εὐφροσύναι.*

[2] *Οὔχ ἡμεῖς δὲ μόνον ταύτην τιμῶμεν τὴν ἑβδομάδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] He states that *πάντες οἱ λαοὶ* pass this week fasting, *καὶ οἱ σπουδαῖοι ὁπλῶς καὶ τριπλῶς καὶ τετραπλῶς ὑπερτίθενται.*

[4] Quod et Romani orbis piissimi imperatores sancta antiquitus observatione custodiunt, qui in honorem passionis et resurrectionis Christi altitudinem suæ potestatis inclinant, et constitutionum suarum severitate mollita multarum culparum reos præcipiunt relaxari, ut in diebus, quibus mundus salvatur miseratione divina, etiam ipsorum supernæ bonitatis imitatrix sit æmulanda clementia.

[5] Ob diem paschæ, quem intimo corde celebramus, omnibus, quos reatus adstringit, carcer inclusit, claustra dissolvimus. Attamen sacrilegus, in majestate reus, in mortuos veneficus sive maleficus, adulter, raptor, homicida, communione istius muneris separentur.

[6] Cf. J. F. Mayer (properly Dan. Harder), *Ecloga Hist. theol. de Dominica palmarum.* Gryphisw. 1706. 4.

[7] Also called—with names of similar or cognate meaning—Dominica in palmis, ad palmas, in ramis palmarum, dominica olivarum, Pascha florum, or floridum, Dominica hosanna, *τὰ βάϊα, βαϊοφόρος ἑορτὴ, ἡμέρα τῆς βαϊοφόρου.*

[8] Even from so early a father as Epiphanius, we have two Homilies on this day as a proper festival, *περὶ βαΐων*, *Opp.* ed. Petav. T. II. p. 251 sqq. and p. 301 sqq., and next from Chrysostom among his Homilies *εἰς τὴν ἑβδ. μεγάλ.*, one on Palm Sunday, in which among other things, he mentions the custom of shaking the Palm-branches, *σείειν τὰ βάϊα.* If according to Assemanni, *Bibl. Orientalis*, T. I. p. 23 sqq., the keeping of this festival did not commence in the East before 198 A.D., still this may be only true of several parts of the East.

probably not until the 6th that it was observed in the West, where it received the name of *Dominica palmarum*[1]. In the course of time this celebration was associated with many other allusions, both of a kindred nature and otherwise[2].

The fifth day of the week, the so-called Grün-donnerstag—Green Thursday[3] [in England Maunday Thursday], ἡ μεγάλη πέμπτη, ἡ ἁγία πεντάς, *feria quinta paschæ*, was even in the 4th and 5th Centuries[4] kept as the memorial of Christ's Last Supper, and of the institution of the Holy

[1] In the West we do not before this find any distinct traces of a special celebration of this day; the earliest writer from whom we have a homily on this festival, is the Venerable Bede (*Opp.* T. VII. p. 363). But by the times of Charlemagne, the celebration was pretty general. The heading of the *Homil.* XLV. of Maximus Taurin, *Dominica in ramis palmarum*, is spurious.

[2] Among the solemn customs of Palm Sunday, we have especially to notice one: the consecration of the Palms—(a practice which most assuredly was not established before the times of Gregory the Great)—and the processions so closely connected with it (in imitation, no doubt, of the Jewish custom of carrying about branches of palms, willows, and myrtles, βαϊοφορία, 1 Macc. xiii. 51; 2 Macc. x. 6, 7; Joseph. *Archäol.* XIII. 13. 6). To this the Palm ass was added in the middle ages. In Constantinople a peculiar custom prevailed: presents called βάϊα were distributed at the imperial court, and by the patriarchs (s. Luitprand. *de Reb. ab Europ. Imper. et Reg. Gest.* l. VI. c. 5). Other customs of this day are indicated by its titles: *Dominica capitilavii* (according to Rabanus Maur. *de Instit. Clericor.* II. 35, quia tunc moris est lavandi capita infantium, qui ungendi sunt); *dominica competentium* (not so much in reference to the publishing the absolution of the pœnitentes as to the practice of teaching the Creed to the catechumens on these days, as ordered by the *Concil. Agathense*, a. 506, c. 13: Symbolum placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, *i. e.* ante octo dies dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in ecclesia competentibus reddi; as also in the Protestant Church it is usual to administer the rite of Confirmation by preference on these days), *dominica indulgentiæ* (*ob pœnitentium reconciliationem*). The name *dominica Lazari* took its origin from the fact that the Church on this day commemorated the resurrection of Lazarus as a forerunner of that of our Lord Himself.

[3] Cf. J. C. Zeumer, *De die Viridium.* Jen. 1700 (also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. I. p. 1. Lips. 1846. nr. 12).

[4] It has long been maintained that the Roman bishop, Leo II. (A.D. 682), was the first founder of this festival; but as early as at the end of the 4th, and the beginning of the 5th Century, we find in the African Church a yearly commemoration of the institution of the Blessed Communion, whose festal character is likewise signalised by the termination of the Lenten Fast: see the passages from the Council of Hippo, and from St Augustin, adduced in

Communion (on this account it was also called *dies cœnæ Domini*[1]), and as such it was peculiarly marked by the celebration of the Lord's Supper which the faithful all but universally partook of, and which, contrary to the general rule, was in many places[2] administered in the afternoon or evening (see *Concil. Hipponense* [A.D. 398], can. 28[3], and St Augustin, *Epist.* LIV. *al.* CXVIII.[4]). Other practices were soon afterwards joined to the ceremonies of this day. A very few only of its rites are of recent origin[5].

notes 2, 3, 4. That no homilies expressly on the subject of this festival have come down to us from the first five centuries, is no decisive proof that it was not observed; for on these days the ancient preachers of homilies occupied themselves with the catechumens and their examination; although however it is not likely that the Holy Communion was passed over entirely without notice. In the Greek Church, too, according to St Chrysostom there was kept ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη πεντάς. (Ὁρῶ—says he in his Homily on this day, *Opp.* T. II. p. 376—πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν ἐπειγομένους πρὸς τὴν τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν, κ.τ.λ.

[1] Also called dies natalis eucharistiæ, natalis calicis, dies panis, dies lucis (probably from the custom of celebrating the Communion by the light of tapers), dies mysteriorum, dies mandati (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε).

[2] Most certainly not universally. Whereas in some churches the Holy Communion was taken in the eve after a previous partaking of the Commemorative Feast of the Institution; in others it was received in the morning by the people still fasting, and in others, again, it was received twice on the same day. (For in reference hereto, St Augustin—s. *Epist.* LIV. al. CXVIII. *ad Januar.*—was asked: Quid per quintam feriam ultimæ hebdomadis quadragesimæ fieri debeat, an offerendum sit mane et rursus post cœnam,...an jejunandum et post cœnam tantummodo offerendum,...an etiam jejunandum et post oblationem, sicut facere solemus, cœnandum? he replied: Faciat quisque, quod in ea ecclesia, in quam venit, invenerit).

[3] Ut sacramenta altaris nonnisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur.

[4] Nonnullos probabilis quædam ratio delectavit, ut uno certo die per annum, quo ipsam cœnam Dominus dedit, tanquam ad insigniorem commemorationem post cibos offerri et accipi liceat corpus et sanguinem Domini.—Cf. note 2, above.

[5] In many places the celebration of the Lord's Supper (especially as long as it was customary to commemorate the Paschal feast) was associated with the *pedilavium* (John xiii.), or washing of feet, originally in agreement with St John's narrative, as the concluding act of the Agape, but afterwards as a rite of preparation for the catechumens. St Bernard of Clairvaux, who speaks of the *pedilavium* as sacramentum remissionis peccatorum quotidianorum, urged strongly the practice of it. But it never was universal, and in modern times it is practised as a mark of humility by Roman Catholic sovereigns (at Rome, Vienna,

The sixth day of this week as the anniversary of the Lord's death (the παρασκευή[1], *parasceve*, ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ, *dies dominicæ passionis*, called also in a narrow sense *paschæ*[2]) was observed by the whole Church as a day of

Lisbon, Madrid, Naples, Munich, and also on Good Fridays at St Petersburg). — Moreover it deserves to be noticed, that on Maunday Thursday the catechumens, who on the previous Palm Sunday had been taught the Creed, were called upon to repeat it aloud (see Ambrose, *Epist.* xxxiii. &c. &c.), and the penitents were again received into the Church's communion, by being admitted to the Lord's Supper—(on this account the day has been also called *dies competentium, dies indulgentiæ*). The following are more novel practices and peculiar to the Roman Church: The consecrating the Chrism for the whole of the following year; the *præsanctificatio*, or consecration of the Host for Good Friday, on which day was the *missa præsantificatorum;* the extinction of all the tapers, the removal of all ornamental decorations from the altar; the communion of the priests, and—since the Reformation—the excommunication of all heretics. The name of *Green Thursday, dies viridium*, which first came into use in the middle ages, though the title has never been adopted in the official phraseology of the Church, has received many and different explanations. It has been explained 1st, by the custom of eating on this day green herbs, as a symbol of the coming spring, both in the natural and the spiritual world (thus even St Ambrose, *De Mysteriis*, c. ii. speaks of the Paschal season generally, as *novella germinum reparatio*); or 2nd, from (what however is not clearly proved) the Introit of the day taken from Ps. xxiii. 2: "He shall feed me in green pastures;" or 3rd (see Gerhard, *Homiliar. Sacr.* i. 1339, and Böhmer, *Alterthumswissenschaft*, ii. 127), from St Luke xxiii. 31: "For if they do these things in the green tree," &c. &c., as applied to Christ; or 4th, from the Saviour being seized on this day in the garden of Gethsemane; and otherwise.

[1] The word being employed in the same signification (day of preparation) relatively to the following Jewish Sabbath (see above, p. 130, n. 4), in which it is applied to every Friday; although in a higher and more special sense κατ' ἐξοχήν. Cf. besides C. Claius, *De die Magnæ Paraseeves*. Lips. 1697 (also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. i. p. 1. 1846. nr. 13).

[2] Called also σωτηρία, *dies salutaris* (cf. Athanas. *Ep. Encycl. ad Episc.* c. iv.), *dies absolutionis* (in allusion to that accomplished for us by Christ; or to the remission of all punishment, whether of that enjoined on penitents or on offenders against the laws of the state). The etymology of the German name *Charfreitag*, is doubtful; according to some it is the day of grace, χάρις—or to others it is the good, the dear day (from *carus*); according to others it is so called as a day of strict fast (from *carena, carere*, and thence comes the German word *Kar*, punishment); again, others derive it from its being the day of salvation chosen before all others (from *küren*); and lastly, others make it equivalent with παρασκευή, preparation (from the old German karo, garo = parare).

strict penance and fasting[1] (cf. Tertull. *de Orat.* c. xiv.[2], and *Constitutt. Apost.* v. 18, and for later times, *Concil. Tolet.* iv. a. 683, c. 8[3]), while its high festal importance was not forgotten; and accordingly it was as early as in the 2nd Century celebrated as a festival[4]. In every church the history of Christ's passion was read (Augustin, *Sermo* ccxviii.[5]). In many places (Syria for instance), the Christians on this day assembled at the churches of the Martyrs outside the walls, and in the evening celebrated the Lord's Supper (Chrysostom, *Homil.* εἰς...τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, *Opp.* Vol. II. p. 397, 401[6]). It was the universal rule of the Church on this day to abstain from the *osculum pacis*, and from kneeling[7].

It was followed by Easter Eve [Ostersabbath], the last

[1] Called therefore also *cœna pura* (with no reference however to the Lord's Supper).

[2] Even he says: Dies paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est.

[3] Quia totum eundem diem—is the explanation of the Council—universalis ecclesia in mœrore et abstinentia peragit: quicunque in eo jejunium, præter parvulos, senes et languidos, ante peractas indulgentiæ preces resolverit, a paschali gaudio repellatur, nec in eo sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini percipiet, qui diem passionis ipsius per abstinentiam non honorat.

[4] The observance of this festival was afterwards enjoined by Constantine the Great (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 18). It commenced with the omission of all jubilant ceremonies. No introits, intoning, or doxologies were used, and in later times the bells were not allowed to be rung nor the organ to be played.

[5] Cujus sanguine delicta nostra deleta sunt, sollemniter legitur passio, sollemniter celebratur, ut annua devotione memoria nostra lætius innovetar et ipsa frequentatione populorum fides nostra clarius illustretur. And according to Aug. (*Sermo* ccxxxii. *in Dieb. Pasch.*), it was St Matthew's account of the passion that was read. See § 30, 1. The processions of the cross, both of the Latin and the Greek Churches, as well as the dramatic representations of the crucifixion, all owe their origin to far later times.

[6] Ὁ δὲ σταυρωθεὶς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐσταυρώθη· διὰ τοῦτο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἡμᾶς ἠγαγεν· τῷ γὰρ ποιμένι, φησίν, ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ πρόβατα· ἔνθα ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται.—Τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τούτῳ; κ.τ.λ. (p. 397).—Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλωμένον μέλλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν ταύτην ἰδεῖν ὡς ἀμνὸν ἐσφαγμένον καὶ τεθυμένον, μετὰ φρίκης προσίωμεν, κ.τ.λ. See also St Chrysostom's sermon on Ascension Day, *Opp.* T. II. p. 450.

[7] It would seem as if a desire had been felt to resemble in no respect either the Jews, who on this day had bent the knee in mockery, nor Judas, who had betrayed his Master with a kiss.

day of the Great Week—*τὸ μέγα* (or *τὸ ἅγιον*) *σάββατον*, *sabbatum magnum*[1], which was kept as a holiday in memory of Christ's resting in the grave and of His descent into hell[2]. As such it was a fast-day of the universal Church[3].

The afternoon[4] of this day was one of the most favourite times for baptizing[5]. In the evening the towns were gaily illuminated (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 22[6]). At night every one joined the prayers of the Church[7], *vigiliæ paschales*, *παννυχίδες*—for which fast we have so early a testimony as Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, ii. 4[8], and *Constitutt. Apost.* v.

[1] As was natural, highly honoured in the Church ever since the time when the Jewish sabbath declined in respect.

[2] See for instance, the Homily of Epiphanius on Christ's descent into hell, *Opp.* ed. Petav. T. II. p. 259.

[3] Although the Greek Church strictly prohibited fasting on all other Sabbaths of the year (*Canones Apostol.* c. 65, see above, p. 128, note 8), yet on this one day it fasted in common with the whole of the Western Church (*Constitutt. Apostol.* v. 18: *τὴν μέντοι παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ σάββατον ὁλόκληρον νηστεύσατε...εἰ δέ τις ἀδυνατεῖ τὰς δύω συνάπτειν ὁμοῦ, φυλασσέσθω κἂν τὸ σάββατον*).—The fast lasted till the dawn of Easter Day (*μέχρις ἀλεκτοροφωνίας.*—*Constitutt. Apost.* l. l.)

[4] And so too especially in the following vigils.

[5] Those who were to be baptized received baptism pre-eminently into the death of Christ. The celebration of baptism on this day is testified to by St Chrysostom, *Epist. ad Innocentium Rom.* (*Opp.* T. III. p. 518), in an account of an horrible event in his own life, incidentally mentioning among other things *τοῦ ἄνδρους τῶν νεοφωτίστων* (*ἦσαν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους*), consequently, nearly 3000 candidates for baptism. See also St Augustin, *Sermo* ccxxiii. *in Vigil.* 5: Infantes isti, quos cernitis exterius dealbatos interiusque mundatos, qui candore vestium splendorem mentium præfigurant cet).—Among the rites of this day was also consecratio aquæ baptismalis in totum annum, and in the middle ages benedictio cerei paschalis, which however is mentioned by the *Concil. Tolet.* iv. c. 9, as being already practised by the Spanish Church (see Durandus, *Rationale Divinor. Officior.* vi. 80. 1, and the *Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ*, p. 323); it was the custom to read specially selected passages of the Old Testament prophecies, *prophetiæ* (lectiones sine titulo, generally twelve, having a reference to the appearance of the Christian dispensation).

[6] *Λαμπάδες δ' ἦσαν πυρὸς πάντα φωτίζουσαι τόπον, ὡς λαμπρὰς ἡμέρας τηλαυγεστέραν τὴν μυστικὴν διανυκτέρευσιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.*

[7] Cf. G. H. Goetze, *Vigiliæ Paschales Veterum Christianorum*, Lips. 1687, and M. E. Krause, *Diatribe de Pervigilio Paschatos ἀναστασίμου*, Lips. 1715; E. F. Wernsdorf, *de Constantini Religione Paschali*, ad Euseb. *de Vit. Const.* iv. 22 (a commentary on this point). Viteb. 1758.

[8] Quis (*i. e.* of heathen husbands) solemnibus paschæ abnoctantum (uxorem) securus sustinebit?

19[1]. This nocturnal service, which consisted of singing, of prayer, and of reading the Scriptures, was kept up until the dawn of Easter Morning. Its solemnity was not without its effect even on the non-Christians[2]. An opinion prevailed almost universally in the ancient Church that it would be on this very night that Christ would appear on His coming in glory (cf. Lactant. *Institut. Divin.* vii. 19[3], and Hieronym. *Comm. in Matth.* xxv. 6[4]). From the observance of this vigil of Easter, vigils became common also to other festivals[5].

[1] Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ... ἐπιφωσκούσης μιᾶς σαββάτων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ κυριακή, ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἕως ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἀγρυπνοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροιζόμενοι γρηγορεῖτε, προσευχόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ διαννυκτερεύσει ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφήτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλεκτρυόνων κραυγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ, καὶ προσλαλήσαντες τῷ λαῷ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, παύσασθε τοῦ πένθους ὑμῶν.

[2] Quamquam—says Augustin, *Sermo* ccxix. *in Vigil. Paschæ*—tam clara sit vigiliæ hujus celebritas toto orbe terrarum, ut etiam illos vigilare carne compellat, qui corde non dicam dormiunt, sed tartarea impietate sepulti sunt... Eorum quippe qui nullo modo Christi sunt nomine consignati, tamen ista nocte multi dolore, multi pudore, nonnulli etiam, qui fide appropinquant, Dei jam timore non dormiunt.

[3] Hæc est nox, quæ nobis propter adventum regis ac Dei nostri pervigilio celebratur; cujus noctis duplex ratio est, quod in ea et vitam tum recepit, cum passus est, et postea orbis terræ regnum recepturus est.

[4] Traditio Judæorum est, Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem ægyptii temporis, quando pascha celebratum est et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transiit... Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut in die vigiliarum paschæ ante noctis dimidium populos dimittere non liceat, exspectantes adventum Christi. Et postquam illud tempus transierit, securitate præsumpta festum cuncti agunt diem.

[5] The nocturnal celebration of divine worship so frequently necessary for the persecuted Christians in the early ages, and by its solemn stillness so edifying and promotive of spiritual watchfulness, tended to make the observance of vigils still more general. Thus even Pliny, *Epist. ad Trajan.* (96, al. 97), tells us that the Christians essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; and so also the Apologists of the 2nd and 3rd centuries make mention of these nightly assemblies for the purpose of divine worship. In later times, and especially by the Arians, these nocturnal meetings were arranged with a view to the greatest splendour and effect (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8; Sozomen, *H. E.* viii. 8), and the influence which they exercised led the Church of Constantinople to adopt the same course. The most brilliant of these vigils from the very first were the *paschales*. Soon after we meet with them—as formal and stated preparatory festivals—at Whitsuntide, Christmas, Epiphany, and the

All these days of sadness and silence, however, were followed by one high and joyous festival—that of the Resurrection, the festival of Easter[1], *dies* (*festum*) *dominicæ resurrectionis*, πασχάλιος ἑορτή· ἑορτὴ ἀναστάσιμος, κυριακὴ μεγάλη, τὸ πάσχα, πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον[2]. At daybreak it was the custom of the Christians to greet one another with joyful salutations[3], and next to the solemnity of the public

Ascension; and indeed especially *before* the Festivals of Martyrs (thus St Jerome speaks of vigiliæ et pernoctationes basilicis martyrum sæpe celebrandæ); and lastly, in the widest extension of the practice, *before* Sundays. That in the course of time irregularities should arise in the observance of these vigils was almost inevitable. Thus Vigilantius, circ. 400 A.D. (s. Hieronym. *contra Vigilantium*, c. i.) speaks of error et culpa juvenum vilissimarumque mulierum, qui per noctem sæpe deprehenditur; and, non est religiosis hominibus imputandus, quia et in vigiliis paschæ tale quid fieri plerumque convincitur. And still earlier, *Concil. Eliberitanum*, a. 305, can. 35, condemning such practices, had limited to the male sex the attendance in the cemeteries on these vigils of the Festivals of Martyrs (Placuit prohiberi, ne feminæ in cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quod sæpe sub ostentu orationis latenter scelera committunt). And later, the *Concil. Antissiodorense*, circ. 580, can. 3, expressly forbids, Non licet ... pervigilias in festivitatibus sanctorum facere. And thus afterwards the observance of the vigils was more and more restrained within certain limits, and their place was taken by vespers (almost exclusively consisting of psalms and hymns) late on the evening of Saturday, and early matins on the Sunday. The German word *Frühmette* is either from *matutina*, or from the name of the city Metz (Metis), where from the time of Charlemagne a famous singing-school existed, and from which an improved style of singing proceeded; cf. Mart. Gerbert, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*, T. i. p. 270 sqq. And a pure Protestantism even has still preserved this beautiful act of worship, keeping a certain vigil on the Eve of Christmas-Day.

[1] Cf. H. Nicolai, *Paschalia*. Gedan. 1647; J. J. Homburg, *De Paschate Veterum Christianorum*. Helmst. 1685; J. Deutschmann, *De Festi Paschalis Energiis vel Operationibus*. Viteb. 1695; J. G. Schnell, *De Paschate Veterum ἀναστασίμῳ*. Lips. 1718.

[2] Called also ἡ πασχαγία, or τὰ πασχάγια.—How high and solemn this festival was in the estimation of the ancient Church ("for if Christ be not risen from the dead your faith is vain," 1 Cor. xv. 14), is manifest from these words of Gregory Nazianzene: λόγ. εἰς τὸ ἁγ. πάσχα: Πάσχα, Κυρίου πάσχα, καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ πάσχα, τιμὴ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, αὕτη ἑορτῶν ἡμῖν ἑορτὴ καὶ πανηγύρεων πανήγυρις, τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρουσα πάσας οὐ τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς καὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχομένας, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελουμένας, ὅσον ἀστέρας ἥλιος.

[3] Even in the present times the day is opened in a very lively manner in the Greek Church, by giving to every one the holy kiss, and embrace, and in some measure by extravagant rejoicings. Cf. Leo Allatius, *de Dominicis et Hebdo-*

service the acts of Christian charity, with which it was usual to mark this day, peculiarly distinguished it[1].

The commemoration of Easter lasted throughout the whole of the following week as the *πάσχα ἀνασπάσιμον* (cf. Chrysostom, *Homil. on Easter Sunday, Opp.* T. II. p. 437[2]; Augustin, Epist. lv. *ad Januar.* § 17[3], and *Cod. Theodos.* ii. 8. 2[4] and xv. 5. 5[5]), so that the *Codex Justin.*

madibus Græcor. Recent. Col. 1648. 4 (c. 22).

[1] Thus among the regular customs of Easter was 1st, the indulgentiæ paschales, or the setting free all prisoners, except such as had been convicted of capital offences, and remitting all debts to the state (see Chrysost. *Homil.* xxx. *in Genes.* cf. with *Cod. Theodos.* ix. 38. 3—8), a practice which was first legally established by the Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 367 (see H. C. Lauterbach, *De Indulgentiis Paschalibus.* Helmst. 1704); 2nd, manumissio servorum, one of the few public transactions which were still legal at this season (*Cod. Justinian.* iii. 12. 8, cf. with *Cod. Theodos.* ii. 8. 1, and Commodianus, *Instruct. adv. Gent. Deos,* c. 75); and lastly, the joyful practice of every kind of Christian clemency and mercy, of which Constantine the Great had afforded a precedent by his own worthy example, Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 22; so that during Easter-week slaves were exempted from working. (*Concil. Trull.* c. lxvi.) But this forbearance was properly only shewn towards their fellow Christians, whereas heathens and Jews were compelled to maintain the strictest holiday on these days, and the latter especially were forbidden publicly to shew themselves among the Christians from Maunday Thursday to Easter, or to come near a church. More *recent* and less suitable ceremonies are, 1st, the *risus paschalis,* or the indulgence in all sorts of fun and merriment (see J. Œcolampadius, *Epist. Apol. ad Capitonem de Risu Paschali.* Bas. 1518, and G. Wegner, *De Risu Paschali.* Regiom. 1705); 2nd, the Easter fire (which probably has grown out of old German and Roman customs; cf. M. Schreiber, *De igne Paschali, quo Sepulcrum Dominicum Cœlitus Quotannis Illustrari creditur.* Regiom. 1705); 3rd, Easter eggs (probably as a symbol of spring [cf. p. 146], or as offerings to *Ostera;* others, on the contrary, derive the custom from the enjoyment of eggs after fasting; or from the custom of the priests to collect eggs. Others again, have derived it from an allusion to Castor and Pollux, and the game of eggs; and others, again, from the mundane egg of the Egyptians; cf. J. F. Mickelii *Oologia Paschalis.* Darmst. 1732; F. G. Erdmann, *De Ovo Paschali.* Lips. 1736; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii. 221 ff.), &c.

[2] *Διὰ τοῦτο ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς σύναξιν ἐπιτελοῦμεν, τὴν πνευματικὴν ὑμῖν παρατιθέμενοι τράπεζαν,* κ. τ. λ.

[3] Ut xl. illi dies ante pascha observentur, ecclesiæ consuetudo roboravit; sic etiam, ut octo dies neophytorum (from the great Saturday) distinguantur a ceteris. (In other passages St Augustin speaks of dies septem vel octo as Easter festivals, as for instance in *Sermo* ccxxii. *in Dieb. Pasch.;* see below, § 30, 1).

[4] Sanctos quoque paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero

iii. 12. 8[1] (compared with *Cod. Theod.* ii. 8. 3) could speak of fifteen *dies paschales*, as included in the great Week; and the festival did not close till the following Sunday, the *octava pascha*. Similar octaves (bearing a resemblance to the Jewish arrangement of festivals) were subsequently instituted in the case of all the high festivals[2]. On this octave of Easter, *pascha clausum*, *ἀντίπασχα*[3], those who had been baptized were by a formal presentation incorporated into the Church (Augustin, *Sermo* cclx.[4] and ccclxxvi.[5]), after which they for the first time put off their white baptismal robes (Augustin, or Pseudo-Aug. *Sermo* clxxii.[6]). Accordingly this Sunday was also called *dominica in albis*[7], *κυριακὴ ἐν λευκοῖς*, *dies nororum*, *octava infantium*, *dies neophytorum*. At a later date it was called in the West, from the introit (1 Pet. ii. 2[8]), *Quasimodogeniti*[9].

vel sequuntur, ... otio sancimus (A.D. 389).

[5] As long as those who had been baptized on Easter Day wore their white robes (*i. e.* from Easter to the following Sunday), all spectacles and games of amusement were stopped. Their place was supplied by the processions of the Neophytes.

[1] Actus omnes, seu publici sunt seu privati, diebus quindecim paschalibus conquiescant (A. D. 392.—The exception however is added: In his tamen et emancipandi et manumittendi cuncti licentiam habeant, et super his acta non prohibeantur).

[2] The octave extending to eight days after, dies octavæ, *ἀπολύσεις*, clausulæ festorum, as regular after-festivals (opposed to the vigils as preliminary feasts), having a decided type in the Mosaic ordinance of the solemn observance of eight days (Levit. xxiii. 36), passed from Easter and Whitsunday to Christmas, and then also to the festivals in honour of the Virgin, and to some also of the saints' days.

[3] *i. e.* dominica paschæ opposita.

[4] Vos, qui baptizati estis et hodie completis sacramentum octavarum vestrarum,...infantes appellamini, quoniam regenerati estis ... Reddendi estis populis, miscendi estis plebi fidelium.

[5] Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium...Miscentur fidelibus hodie infantes nostri (previously called novi) et tanquam de nido volant.

[6] Paschalis solemnitas hodierna festivitate concluditur, et ideo hodie neophytorum habitus commutatur, ita tamen ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur.

[7] Dominica post albas, albis depositis cet.

[8] Quasi modogeniti infantes rationabiles sine dolo lac concupiscite, according to the Vulgate.

[9] In the Greek Church the usual name for this Sunday is *καινὴ κυριακὴ*, *διακαινήσιμος* (s. Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xix. p. 505, and his 43rd Homily, *εἰς τὴν καινὴν κυριακήν*, so also Chrysost. *Homil.* cvi. ed. Savil. T. VII. p. 575; according to Leo Allat. l. l. c. xxiv. also *κυριακὴ νέα*), from

This commemoration of Easter throughout the whole of the following week was continued down to the 7th and 8th Centuries[1]. In the 9th Century, however (*Concil. Moguntiacum*, A.D. 813, can. 36[2]), the proper celebration of Easter was reduced to four days[3]; and ultimately the *Concil. Con-*

the renewed life bestowed by the regeneration of Baptism (although others would derive it from the ancient practice of beginning the Church year with Easter).—Among other Greek writers, this Sunday is often spoken of as the κυριακὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, from the section of the Gospel (John xx. 19, &c.), and also because for some time the apostle St Thomas was jointly commemorated on this day; for the special commemoration of St Thomas, on the 21st of Dec. in the Latin Church, is of a much later origin. The same portion of the Gospel which speaks of the Saviour's appearance to his disciples, also serves to explain the name of *Dominica Apostolorum*. Lastly, this Sunday is also called *Quinquagesima*, as being the first of the season before Pentecost, and because from it to the octave of Whitsunday there are exactly fifty days.

[1] The *Concil. Trull. Quinisext.* a. 692, can. 66, distinctly orders: Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστασίμου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας μέχρι τῆς καινῆς κυριακῆς τὴν ὅλην ἑβδομάδα ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις σχολάζειν δεῖ ἀπαραλείπτως τοὺς πιστούς, ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς εὐφραινομένους ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ ἑορτάζοντας καὶ τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει προσέχοντας καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων κατατρυφῶντας· ἐσόμεθα γὰρ οὕτω Χριστοῦ συνανιστάμενοί τε καὶ συνανυψούμενοι· μηδαμῶς οὖν ἐν ταῖς προκειμέναις ἡμέραις ἱπποδρομία ἢ ἑτέρα δημώδης θέα ἐπιτελείσθω.—And yet even in A.D. 585, the *Concil. Matisconense* II. can. 2, speaks merely of six days of Easter; and it is not at all quite certain, as Rheinwald, *Archäologie*, p. 200, assumes, that in this passage it is only the days *after* Easter that are meant, since the mention of the Pascha in this passage (in the words which Rheinwald has omitted to quote), would expressly include the σταυρώσιμον. The whole passage reads thus: Pascha itaque nostrum, in quo summus sacerdos et pontifex pro nostris delictis nullam habens obnoxationem peccati immolatus est, debemus omnes festissime colere et sedulæ observationis sinceritate in omnibus venerari, ut illis sanctissimis sex diebus nullus servile opus audeat facere, sed omnes simul coadunati hymnis paschalibus indulgentes perseverationis nostræ præsentiam quotidianis sacrificiis ostendamus, laudantes creatorem ac regeneratorem nostrum vespere, mane et meridie.

[2] Præcipimus diem dominicum paschæ cum omni honore et sobrietate venerari, similiter feriam secundam, tertiam et quartam.

[3] All the following week-days however were by no means working-days in the same degree. A feria quinta—continues the *Concil. Mogunt.*—ante missam licentia sit arandi vel seminandi et hortum vel vineam excolendi et septem circumducendi; ab alio vero opere cessare decrevimus. That divine worship was to be maintained throughout the week, is clear from the testimony of Durandus, *Rationale Officiorum Divinor.* l. VI. c. 86.

stantinopl., A.D. 1094[1], limited the Easter Festival, like that of Whitsuntide, to three days[2].

Sect. XXV.—WHITSUNTIDE CYCLE.

Cf. H. Nicolai, *Pentecostalia*, Gedan. 1645; M. Hoynovius, *De Pentecoste*. Regiom. 1693; J. C. Hebenstreit, *De Pentecoste Veterum*. Lips. 1715; J. Winkler, *De iis, quæ circa Festum Pentecostes sunt Memorabilia*. Lips. 1734.

The yearly Festival of the Christian Pentecost may, perhaps, owe something to the analogy of Judaism, since it was on the 50th day after the Jewish Passover that the Feast of first-fruits was held, and on the same day—according to an ancient tradition of the Jews—the Law was given from mount Sinai[3]. But even among the Gentile Christians we find the Whitsun festival observed as early as that of Easter. For mention of it occurs even in Irenæus, *Fragm. de Paschate*, p. 342[4], and Tertull. *de Corona Mil.* c. iii.[5], and *de Orat.* c. xxiii.[6] The expressions,

[1] Statuit synodus, ut tam in hebdomada pentecostes, quam in hebdomado paschali tres tantum dies festivi celebrentur (Mansi, xx. 497).

[2] Frederick II. of Prussia having, in the case of all the three great festivals of the Church, reduced the days of commemoration from three to two—the deeply-significant allusion to the Trinity contained in the ancient mode of celebrating them, which was no less beautiful than edifying, has unfortunately been lost.

[3] This very Jewish Pentecost—(which otherwise was called the ἑορτὴ τῶν ἑβδομάδων, 2 Macc. xii. 31, or the feast of first-fruits, ἑορτὴ πρωτογεννημάτων, Exod. xxiii. 16, and which however was also called (Philo *de Septen. et Festis*, p. 1192. ed. Frcf.) πεντηκοστή, Tob. ii. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 32; Joseph. *Archäol.* III. 10. 6, and Philo, l. c.)—according to passages of the New Testament, was still kept by the apostles, see Acts ii. 1, and also Acts xx. 16, and 1 Cor. xvi. 8. In reading the latter passages, however, we must not exclude from our conception of Pentecost, those larger and higher ideas which were given to the Jewish Pentecost with the Mosaic Law and its temporal first-fruits, by the great events of the first Christian Pentecost, with its new covenant of the Gospel and its first-fruits of holiness (cf. Augustin, *Ep.* LV. § 16: Occiditur ovis, celebratur pascha, et interpositis L. diebus datur lex ad timorem scripta digito Dei. Occiditur Christus,...celebratur verum pascha et interpositis L. diebus datur ad caritatem Spiritus S., qui est digitus Dei, &c.)

[4] Πεντηκοστῆ, ἐν ᾗ οὐ κλίνομεν γόνυ, ἐπειδὴ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κυριακῆς.

[5] Tertullian in this passage having remarked that on Sundays jejunium nefas ducimus vel et geniculis adorare, goes on to say: eadem immunitate a die paschæ in pentecosten usque gaudemus.

[6] After having said of the Sun-

moreover, which these writers employ in speaking of its observance are equally solemn with those they use of Sunday: on it no one was allowed to fast or to kneel at prayer, while all business was suspended.

Originally the Pentecost, *πεντηκοστὴ*, *Quinquagesima*, or the festival of the fiftieth day[1] was kept as a memorial and setting forth of the first operation of the Ascended Saviour's might and power, as it was eminently shewn forth on the fiftieth day from His Resurrection (the first Christian Pentecost); the whole of the fifty days after Easter being kept as a continual commemoration of the Easter Festival (cf. Tertull. *de Jejun.* c. xiv.[2], *de Idololatria*, c. xiv.[3], and *de Oratione*, c. xxiii.[4], and also *Canones Apostol.* c. xxxvi.[5], and Origenes *c. Cels.* viii. 22[6]). Moreover, in the following centuries all these fifty days were distinguished not only by the name of Pentecost, but also by a festival commemoration[7] (cf. *Concil. Nicæn.* c. xx.[8]; *Concil. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. 20[9]; Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei*, c. xxii.[10], and *Codex Theodos.* xv. 5. 5[11].

day, differentes negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus, he immediately adds, tantumdem et spatio pentecostes, qua eadem exultationis sollemnitate dispungimur.

[1] This is the meaning of *πεντηκοστὴ*, as also of the German Pfingsten, which has been formed from it. [Is not the English Whitsun a corruption also of Pfingsten, or rather of the corresponding Anglo-Saxon form?]

[2] Cur pascha celebramus,...cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?

[3] Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum et in ordinem texe, pentecosten implere non poterunt. (The term *implere*, combined with other passages of Tertullian, implies a still larger number of Pentecostal days).

[4] The spatio pentecostes in this passage, see p. 155, implies the same as *implere*, and indeed still more clearly.

[5] They are here speaking of *τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*.

[6] That the Christian *ἀεί ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις*.

[7] Externally by the cessation of all fasting and of kneeling (in which, however, the practice of different churches differed), and also especially by the public reading of the Acts of the Apostles (the reasons of which practice are given by Chrysostom, *Homil.* Lxiii. entitled, Cur in pentecoste acta legantur, *Opp.* T. v. p. 949), and by its being a favourite time for baptisms (Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xl. *de Baptismo*), and by the more frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper.

[8] *Ἐπειδὴ τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, κ. τ. λ.*

[9] Of holding of Synods on *τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*.

[10] Fasting on these dies statio-

Nevertheless as early as in the 2nd Century (and not —as the common opinion maintains—first of all after the Council of Elvira [A.D. 305] can. 43[1]), we find distinct traces of the fiftieth day being held in peculiar honour as the true πεντηκοστή, and distinguished from the rest of the period by greater solemnity. This we see even from Tertullian—notwithstanding that in other passages he speaks of the observance of all the fifty days—*de Corona Milit.* c. iii.[2] compared with Irenæus, *de Pasch. ib.*[3] For how else can we account for its receiving, even in the earliest times[4], invariably and without exception the title of πεντηκοστή? Moreover, the simple and unqualified designation of it by the *Concilium Eliberitanum* as the *dies Pentecostes*, evidently supposes it to be long and well known by that title. Accordingly, ever since the 4th Century[5] this day, consecrated to the memory of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the establishment of the New Covenant (the founding of the Church), has alone been distinguished as the proper Pentecost—*Pentecoste*, *dies pentecostes*, ἡμέρα τοῦ πνεύματος, as for instance by the *Concil. Eliberit. ibid.*—not to mention Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 64—the *Con-*

num was observed throughout the year, δίχα μόνης τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὅλης τῶν πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὔτε γουνκλισίαι γίνονται, οὔτε νηστεία προστέτακται, whereas ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ κατὰ τὰς πρωΐνας αἱ συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦνται.

[11] Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus...quo tempore et commemoratio apostolicæ passionis, totius christianitatis magistræ, a cunctis jure celebratur, omni theatrorum atque circensium voluptate populis denegata cet.

[1] Pravam institutionem emendari placuit juxta auctoritatem scripturarum, ut cuncti diem pentecostes celebremus, ne si quis non fecerit, novam hæresin induxisse notetur.

[2] Eadem immunitate a die paschæ in pentecosten usque gaudemus. (If the Pentecost began in every case immediately after the Paschal feast, then the words *in... usque* would be perfectly unintelligible).

[3] For here the πεντηκοστὴ is opposed to τῇ ἡμερῇ (not ταῖς ἡμέραις) τῆς κυριακῆς,—although this is not very stringent proof.

[4] We shall also *occasionally* at least find πεντήκοντα for Whitsuntide.

[5] Although by the *Concil. Nic.* l. l. πεντηκοστὴ is taken absolutely in a collective sense, while Epiphanius, l. l. thinks to draw a distinction between it and a πεντηκοστὴ ὅλη—a distinction which Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv. 64, also makes in the following words, which give a still more express and distinct prominence to this one principal day: τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἑβδομάσι μὲν ἑπτὰ τετιμημένης, μονάδι δ' ἐπισφραγιζομένης.

stitutt. Apost. viii. 33, by Augustin, *c. Faustum*, xxxii. 12[1], *Epist.* liv. § 1 [see the next page], and *Epist.* lv. § 16[2], and Chrysostom, *Hom. εἰς τὴν πεντηκοστήν*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 469[3], and *Homil. εἰς πεντηκ. ibid.* p. 461[4], &c. &c.[5]

Nearly contemporary with the more regular distinction of the fiftieth day, was the custom of setting apart the fortieth day of the whole *Quinquagesima* for the commemoration of Christ's ascension[6]. (*Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 33[7]; Augustin, *Epist.* liv. [*al.* cxviii.] *ad Januar.* § 1[8], and *Sermo*

[1] Pentecosten, i.e. a passione et resurrectione Domini quinquagesimum diem celebramus, quo nobis Sanctum Spiritum, quem promiserat, misit cet.

[2] See above, p. 155, n. 3.

[3] Ἑορτὴ ἡμῖν καὶ πανήγυρις ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα...Πρῴην μὲν οὖν ἑορτάσαμεν τὸν σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθος, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄνοδον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. Σήμερον δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τέλος ὑπηντήσαμεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐφθάσαμεν τῶν ἑορτῶν, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν καρπὸν παρεγενόμεθα τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπαγγελίας.

[4] Καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἡ ἡμετέρα πρὸ δέκα ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀνέβη τὸν βασιλικὸν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατέβη σήμερον πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Afterwards, in the middle ages, much, it must be confessed, was added to the Whitsun festival, which was both little connected with it, and any thing but spiritually edifying. For instance, the custom so prevalent in Germany, of the *Whitsun Birches*, the origin of which is very doubtful, being derived by some (Buxtorf, *de Synag. Jud.* c. xx.) from Judaism; by others it was derived from Heathenism (by a supposed reference to the festivities of the Majuma in honour of Maja), but still admitting of a spiritual significance, the firstling of the spring being analogous to the firstlings of the Spirit (cf. A. L. Königsmann, *De Betulis Pentecostalibus, quibus Templa illo Festo exornari solent*, Kil. 1707; and A. Rivini *Diatr. de Majumis, Maicampis et Roncaliis*, in J. G. Grævii *Synt. Var. Diss.* Ultraj. 1701), and many fanciful devices of the middle ages, in which the dove was employed as the symbol of the Holy Ghost (such as the victory of the dove over the eagle, &c.; cf. Durandus, *Rationale Divinor. Officior.* l. VI. c. 107).

[6] Up to this time its celebration was comprized in that of the great fifty days. (Moreover the commemoration was not confined to the Act of the Ascension, but was extended to His sitting on God's right hand, and also to that second coming again of the Lord in glory, which was expressly promised at His ascension, Acts i. 11).

[7] On Ascension day, as the completion of Christ's earthly ministry, slaves were to rest from their work. (Τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἀργεῖτωσαν διὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας).

[8] — Illa, quæ non scripta, sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, datur intelligi vel ab ipsis apostolis vel plenariis conciliis... commendata atque statuta retineri. Sicut quod Domini passio et resurrectio et ascensio in cœlum et

cclxi.[1]; St Chrysostom in the Homily on the Ascension", and in the Sermon on Whitsunday, quoted in the preceding page.) It was called the *dies ascensionis*, the ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναλήψεως[3], a festival on which in some places (as for instance in the Syrian Church, see St Chrysostom in the above Homily on the Ascension[4]) the Christians used to celebrate public worship outside the towns—naturally without in any way interfering with the spiritual character of the Church Festival, which it was left for ceremonies, subsequently introduced, to disturb[5].

In the Greek Church the Whitsun Festival[6]—the Octave of Whitsuntide—was closed by a festival of All Martyrs[7], intended to commemorate in a certain sense the historical results of the great event of Whitsunday. It was called κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων μαρτυρησάντων (see Chrysostom's Homily on this Festival[8]). In the Western

adventus de cœlo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria sollemnitate celebrantur.

[1] Ascensionis hodie sollemnia celebramus.

[2] Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου, *Opp.* T. II. p. 450.

[3] Ascension Week, ἑβδόμας ἀναλήψιμος.—The festival was also called ἡ ἐπισωζομένη, by St Gregor. Nyss. in the title to a Homily on the Ascension (λόγος εἰς τὴν λεγομένην τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ τῶν Καππαδόκων ἔθει ἐπισωζομένην), *Opp.* ed. Paris, T. II. p. 873, and also Chrysostom, *Homil.* xix. *de Statuis* (τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς ἐπισωζομένης); according to some writers (Baumgarten), to distinguish the day which was *put aside* from the other solemn intervening days, and kept among them as a festival proper; but according to others (and this seems the more correct view), to mark the day on which Christ completed the work of salvation, σωτηρία (ἑορτὴ τῆς ἐπισωζομένης φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, or ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ σωζομένῃ φύσ. ἀνθρ.).

[4] Καὶ ὅτε τοῦ σταυροῦ μνείαν ἐπιτελοῦμεν, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετελέσαμεν· καὶ νῦν, ὅτε τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἄγομεν, τὴν φαιδρὰν ταύτην καὶ ἐξαστράπτουσαν ἡμέραν, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πάλιν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελοῦμεν. τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντες, πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἁγίων τούτων ἐδράμομεν.

[5] Among the mediæval customs on this festival must be mentioned the symbolical representation in which an image of Christ was raised to the ceiling of the Church, while from the same quarter a distorted figure was cast down to represent Satan.

[6] On the limitation of its commemoration to three days, see above, § 24, towards the end.

[7] On the honour paid to the martyrs and on the festivals of the saints and martyrs, see below, § 27.

[8] Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μαρτυρήσαντας, *Opp.* T. II. p. 711. Ἐξ οὗ—it is here said—τὴν ἱερὰν πανήγυριν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπετελέσαμεν, οὕπω παρῆλθεν ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς καὶ πάλιν

Church[1], however (in later times at least), Whitsuntide was terminated by the Festival of the Trinity[2], which, in the object of its commemoration, combined as it were those of all the previous festivals of the ecclesiastical year as now settled[3],—the love and mercy of the Father as shewn in the Incarnation of Christ[4], in the betrayal of the Son of God, His Death and glorious Resurrection, and in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost by the Son of Man, now glorified and seated on the throne of His Father in heaven. All these solemn subjects, commemorated separately in their several appropriate festivals, were again set forth together in this self-revealed mystery of the Trinity[5]. Unlike, however, the other high festivals of the Church, it has no

κατέλαβεν ἡμᾶς μαρτύρων χορός, κ.τ.λ.—Afterwards we find traces of this festival in the speech of the Emperor Leo I. (circ. 457 A.D.) in the Synaxarium of Callistus; cf. Leo Allat. *De Dominicis et Hebdomadibus Græcor.* c. xxxi.

[1] The Liturgy of the Latin Church excludes all commemorations from the Whitsun festival.

[2] It is an utterly groundless assumption of Augusti's, that the festival of orthodoxy in the Greek Church (Walch's *Ketzergeschichte*, x. 799), which was kept on the first Sunday in Lent (*Invocavit*) in commemoration of the restoration of images by the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 842, gave occasion to the institution in the Western Church of this festival of real orthodoxy. For the West would not have been willing to imitate the separated Greek Church without following altogether their precedent, especially since the worship of images had been expressly condemned in the synod of Frankfort, A.D. 794.

[3] For a further account of the Church year, see the concluding note of § 26.

[4] Cf. J. F. Mayer, *Cur nullum festum peculiariter Deo Patri sacratum ab ecclesia sit?* 1702.

[5] This idea of the festival of the Trinity is in all essential points advanced by Durandus, *Rationale Officior. Divinor.* l. VI. c. 114, and in the *Offic. Div. brev. explic.* c. 95. In the latter passage he says: Itemque et hoc animadvertus, natale Domini festum esse Patris, cum per eum Pater innotuit mundo. Quamquam vero, quod festum Patris est, festum etiam sit Filii et Spiritus Sancti...Pascha autem est festum Filii, quia tunc a mortuis resurrexit et verus Deus apparuit. Pentecoste vero festum est Spiritus Sancti. Istarum tamen solemnitatum quodlibet festum dicitur totius Trinitatis. Indivisa enim sunt opera Trinitatis, sed ita tamen, ut quædam magis videantur propria esse uni, quam alteri. In the former: In plerisque locis in octava pentecostes fit festum S. Trinitatis; postquam enim celebrata est festivitas Patris in nativitate, et postquam celebratum est festum Filii in pascha et festum Spiritus S. in missione ipsius, merito in octava pentecostes fit festum eorum, S. Trinitatis, ut ostendatur, quod tres personæ sunt unus Deus.

manifest historical basis of outward facts; and accordingly we do not find any clear trace of its being kept before the 10th and 11th Centuries[1]; and it was the Pope John XXII. in the beginning of the 14th Century that first fixed its celebration on this Sunday[2].

[1] [It was rather the opinion of the Early Church that the doctrine of the Trinity, which every Sunday, and every festival, and every rite of the Church must more or less commemorate—as being a mere dogma unconnected with any historical fact, was ill suited to become the occasion of an external festival]. Augusti, *Lehrbuch der Chr. Alterthumer*, s. 125. The lessons, too, for this day, simply characterise it as an octave, or second commemoration of Whitsuntide. Durandus indeed, *Ration. Div. Off.* VI. 114, by an erroneous combination, would discover the use of this festival in the ninth Century—and indeed centuries before (see Rheinwald's *Archäologie*, p. 207). In the Homilarium of Paul the Deacon, which belongs to the 8th Century, and the ecclesiastic writers of the 9th, no mention of it is to be found; on the other hand, there are numerous traces of it in the 11th and 12th. A contemporary, e.g. of Bernard of Clairvaux (who however has no homily on this festival)—Rupert of Deux, thus writes in his *de Div. Offic.* l. XI. c. 1: (Celebrata solemnitate de adventu S. Spiritus statim e vestigio gloriam S. Trinitatis dominicæ subsequentis officio recta dispositione concinimus, videlicet quia post adventum ejusdem Spiritus S. prædicari statim et credi et in baptismo celebrari cœpit fides et confessio nominis Patris et Filii et Spiritus S....Igitur recte hujus sequentis dominicæ tam nocturno quam diurno officio nomen et gloriam prædicamus ejusdem sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis). In the 12th Century it seems universally known, although not universally adopted (at least Potho, abbot of Prüm, A.D. 1150, thus expressed his dissatisfaction at it, *de Statu domus Dei*, l. III. *Bibl. PP.* Lugd. XXI. 502: Quæ ratio festa hæc celebranda induxit, festum videlicet sanctæ Trinitatis, Transfigurationis Domini? cet.; and even pope Alexander III. caused the following to be read before the council of Lateran, 1179 [*Decret. Gregor. IX.* l. IX. t. 9, *de fer.* c. 2]: Festivitas S. Trinitatis secundum consuetudines diversarum regionum a quibusdam consuevit in octavis pentecostes, ab aliis in dominica prima ante adventum Domini celebrari. Ecclesia siquidem Romana in usu non habet, quod in aliquo tempore hujusmodi celebret specialiter festivitatem, cum singulis diebus: Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritus S.! et cetera similia dicantur ad laudem pertinentia Trinitatis); and even still later, Durandus, in the 13th, mentions this festival as merely occurring (*Ration. Div. Offic.* VI. 114) in plerisque locis, while he mentions at the same time a divergence in the time of its celebration.

[2] In the 12th century (when the Roman Church at the Lateran council—see the preceding note—declared its opposition to this festival), the feast of Trinity was kept by some on the octave of Whitsunday, by others, on the last of the Trinity Sundays of the Church year, as at present arranged (see the resolution of the Roman Synod of Lateran, already quoted); and this divergence in the day is

In that part of the year which followed Trinity Sunday[1] (if we pass over the Festival of Corpus Christi, see § 27, last note), we only meet with one of any claim to antiquity that sets forth any incident of Christ's earthly life (and that too one, which appears adequately commemorated in the three Great Festivals[2]). This is the Festival of the Transfiguration, which, after the 6th Century, is spoken of in the Greek Church (ἑορτὴ τῆς μεταμορφώσεως, θαβωρεῖον,—so called from Mount Tabor[3]), which, however, was not re-

mentioned even by so late a writer as Durandus, u. s. On the other hand, the Synod of Arles, A. D. 1260, can. 3, ordered: Statuimus, ut in octava pentecostes celebretur sollemniter officium S. Trinitatis, et a vesperis sabbati dominica agatur sollemnitas et per totam sequentem hebdomadem tres lectiones et tria responsoria singulis diebus...de S. Trinitatis historia per ordinem decantentur cet.; and according to Prosper Lambertini (Bened. XIV.), *De Festis Dom.* l. I. c. 12, § 10: Joannes XXII., qui obiit MCCCXXXIV. primus decrevit, ut prima post pentecosten dominica ab universali celebraretur ecclesia.

[1] In the Western Church the Sundays from Trinity Sunday to Advent were usually reckoned as Dominicæ I., II., III., &c., post Trinitatis (sc. festum); though however, in the old Latin terminology, which still frequently occurs in the Liturgical writings of the Roman Church, the Sundays are reckoned as Sundays 'post pentecosten.' This whole period, therefore, is the period of Trinity (on which, as well as on the Church year generally, see the closing note to § 26). The Greek Church, which has no festival of the Trinity, reckons and names these Sundays from the Gospels as fixed by the Church. (For instance, the Gospel of St John was read between Easter and Whitsuntide, and then followed St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke, and the several Sundays were named ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου, and so on).

[2] The several cycles of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas (we have arranged them according to their age, but according to the historical succession of the events they commemorate they would run—Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide), exhibit the whole human life of the Saviour to the close of the work of redemption, in its whole compass, both in itself and relatively to the manifestation of the Trinity. For this reason, as well as for others connected therewith, these festivals are regarded as the *Three High Festivals of Christianity.* If the Greek Church reckons six High Festivals, and sees in them an allusion to the six days of creation [cf. J. Goar, *Euchologion Græcorum.* Par. 1647, p. 12], still every two of these six are connected together in time, and so in reality there are but three high double festivals.

[3] See the hymn for this festival written by Cosmas Hierosolymit. about the middle of the 8th Century (in Gallandi *Bibl. PP.* XIII. 247); and what will give a somewhat older witness, the λόγος εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν of Andreas Cretensis (Ἑορτάζομεν σήμερον τὴν τῆς φύσεως θέωσιν, κ.τ.λ. —in Galland. l. c. p. 114).

ceived in the West until after long opposition[1]. Eventually however, in the 15th Century it was, by Pope Calixtus III., formally fixed for the 8th of August, as *festum Transfigurationis Domini*. It did not, however, pass over to the Protestants.

Sect. XXVI.—CYCLE OF CHRISTMAS[2].

1 Of the series of festivals which make up the Christmas Cycle, the earliest that we find mentioned in the Church is that of the Epiphany[3], the festival of the revelation or manifestation of Christ in the world (ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, τὰ ἐπιφάνια, τὰ θεοφάνια), which was kept almost, if not quite, as early as those of Easter and of Whitsuntide.

This festival took its rise in the East[4], where it was instituted in memory of Christ's Baptism[5] (τὰ φῶτα Χριστοῦ), and of the manifestation of His Messiahship, as also of His Divine essence in the Majesty of the triune God at His Baptism. The first historical trace of it is found in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 340, ed. Sylb. (ed. Potter, p. 407[6]); and as early as in St Chrysostom's time we find it spoken of as an old and leading festival of the Asiatic Church (Chrysost. *Homil.* εἰς τὸ

[1] See the explanation of Potho Prumiensis in the 12th century, given above, p. 161, n. 1.

[2] According to the present calendar, from the first Sunday in Advent to the festival of the Epiphany.

[3] Cf. J. Kindler, *De Epiphaniis*. Viteb. 1684; J. P. Hebenstreit, *De Epiphania et Epiphaniis apud Gentiles et Christianos*. Jen. 1693; H. Blumenbach, *Antiquitates Epiphaniorum*. Lips. 1737 (also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. I. p. 1. Lips. 1846, nr. 10); E. F. Wernsdorf, *Τὰ ἐπιφάνια veterum, ad illustrandum Hymnum: Was fürchstu du Feind Herodes sehr*. Viteb. 1759. 4.

[4] Though the Western Church has given a Latin name to the Christmas festival, it has retained the Greek one for the Epiphany.

[5] Both the Messiahship and the divinity of Christ were manifested by His baptism; the former by the act of baptism, the latter by the voice of the Father during the descent of the Spirit; cf. *Constitutt. Apost.* VIII. 33: τὴν τῶν ἐπιφανίων ἑορτὴν,...διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνάδειξιν γεγενῆσθαι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος, μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῷ πατρὸς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, κ.τ.λ.

[6] According to this, then, the festival was kept in St Clement's time by the Basilidians (οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι, προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσει); and most assuredly they were not the first who kept it.

ἅγιον βάπτισμα Χριστου, *Opp.* T. II. p. 339[1]); whereas on the other hand, the Donatists murmured against it as an oriental innovation (Augustin, *Sermo* ccii. § 2[2]). In the 4th Century it was also observed in the East as a commemoration of Christ's Baptism principally, τὰ φῶτα, ἡμέρα τῶν φώτων (Gregor. Nazianz. *Orat.* xxxix.[3]); and amongst the ceremonies of the day was the consecration of the water for baptisms, &c.[4] It is not improbable that about the same time the commemoration of Christ's baptism was, in many places, *e.g.* in Egypt[5], in Palestine[6], &c. associated with that of His Nativity as His manifestation in the flesh, and that in this manner a double festival was formed by a combination, which at a later date, when a special remembrance of the Nativity had begun to be pretty generally kept, ultimately threw into the shade the original and simple festival of the Epiphany.

The earliest distinct trace that we meet with in the West of a festival of the Epiphany, is in nearly the middle of the 4th Century[7], and that in Gaul (Ammianus Marcellinus,

[1] Ἐπιφάνεια ἡ παροῦσα λέγεται ἑορτή. Ἀλλὰ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐχὶ ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐτέχθη, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίσθη, ἐπιφάνεια λέγεται; [ὁ Χριστὸς... ἐβαπτίσθη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ θεοφάνια—Chrys. *Hom.* εἰς τὸν μακ. Φιλογόν. *Opp.* T. I. p. 497]... ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅτε ἐτέχθη, τότε πᾶσιν ἐγένετο κατάδηλος [θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη—Chrys. *Hom.* εἰς τὴν ἁγ. πεντεκ. *Opp.* T. II. p. 458], ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐβαπτίσατο, κ.τ.λ. —See also Chrys. *Homil.* I. *de s. Pentecoste*, *Opp.* II. 458; where he speaks even of the feast of the Epiphany as τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἑορτὴν πρώτην.

[2] Merito istum diem nunquam nobiscum hæretici Donatistæ celebrare voluerunt, quia nec unitatem amant, nec orientali ecclesiæ ...communicant.

[3] Ἡ γὰρ ἁγία τῶν φώτων ἡμέρα, εἰς ἣν ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἣν ἑορτάζειν ἠξιώμεθα σήμερον, ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα λαμβάνει, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Cf. Chrysostom, *Homil.* εἰς τὸ ἅγ. βαπτ. Χρ. *Opp.* T. II. p. 369.

[5] Cf. Cassianus, *Collationes*, l. x. c. 2: Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die, quem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel dominici baptismi vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant, epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus et initium quadragesimæ et dies paschæ ...designentur.

[6] Cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, χριστιανικὴ τοπογραφία, l. v. (Galland. *Bibl. PP.* XI. 461): Οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται τοῖς ἐπιφανίοις ποιοῦσι τὴν γένναν, κ.τ.λ.

[7] When the Donatists in Africa rejected it as an innovation. See above, p. 163.

Hist. xxi. 2[1]). Subsequently to this date we find the festival observed both in the East and in the West, on the 6th of January[2] as the *Epiphania*, *Festum Epiphaniæ*, *dies Epiphaniarum* (cf. St Augustin, *Sermo* ccii. § 2[3], and *Sermo* cciii. § 1[4]). In the West, however, the chief object commemorated was the visit of the three Eastern Magi[5] (the three sainted kings[6]) to the new-born Saviour (St Augustin, *Sermo* cc. § 1[7]); and in this way the festival itself, as the *festum trium regum*[8], acquired a more intimate connexion with the feast of the Nativity[9]. From the same cause it also came to be regarded as the commemoration of Christ as the Redeemer of the Gentile world[10]—of the first-fruits of the Gentiles (*primitiæ gentium*): cf. St Augustin, *ibid.*, and Leo Magnus, *Sermo* xxxi.[11]

[1] He says of the emperor Julian: Feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam cet.

[2] Dominus noster Jesus Christus ante dies tredecim natus, a magis hodie traditur adoratus (Augustin, *Serm.* cciii. § 1).—And yet this festival does not appear to have been fixed for this day before the 5th Century.

[3] Nos manifestationem Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qua primitias gentium delibavit, in unitate gentium celebremus.

[4] Hodierno die manifestatus redemptor omnium gentium fecit sollemnitatem omnibus gentibus. Cujus itaque nativitatem ante dies paucissimos celebravimus, ejusdem manifestationem hodie celebramus. (Then follow the words given above, note 2).

[5] But not exclusively. Cf. Maximus Taur. ll. ll. (p. 204): also Hieronym. *Comm. in Ezech.* c. 1: Hæc dies significat baptisma cet.

[6] Those *magos reges fere habet oriens*, are the words of Tertullian, *adv. Judæus*, c. ix. Names are given to them by Beda Venerab. *Opp.* T. III. p. 649, Caspar, Melchior, Balthazar. Lastly, in the 12th Century it is even said that their remains were brought to Cologne. Cf. H. Crombach, *Primitiæ Gentium seu Historia trium regum majorum.* Col. 1654, 3 Voll. fol.

[7] Illis (magis) dies iste primus illuxit, anniversaria nobis festivitate rediit. Illi erant primitiæ gentium, nos populos gentium.

[8] Also called festum magorum, principum, dynastarum, sapientum.

[9] In this light it is in some measure regarded even in the present day, as the octave of the Christmas festival—the great New Year's day.

[10] Illi magi primi ex gentibus Christum Dominum cognoverunt, et nondum ejus sermone commoti stellam sibi apparentem et pro infante verbo visibiliter loquentem velut linguam cœli secuti sunt, ut diem salutis primitiarum suarum gentes gratanter agnoscerent et eum Domino Christo cum gratiarum actione sollemni obsequio dedicarent (Augustin, *Sermo* cciii.).

[11] Agnoscamus in magis adoratoribus Christi vocationis nostræ fideique primitias et exultantibus animis beatæ spei initia celebremus.

In the West a third point of view (most significantly harmonising with that just mentioned, and also with that of a commemoration of Christ's baptism) was also associated with the festival of the Epiphany[1]. In this light Epiphany was regarded as a yearly remembrance of the first manifestation of Christ's miraculous powers at Cana in Galilee, and was honoured as the *dies natalis virtutum Domini*[2], to use the words of Maximus Taurinensis in the beginning of the third Century (*Homil.* xxiii.[3]).

In this way the feast of the Epiphany became a festival of Christ's Manifestation in the fullest sense. In its celebration therefore every event was brought forward which from His birth to the commencement of His ministry in any way tended to glorify the Messiah—Him who was κατ' ἐξοχήν, 'the sent of God.' More especially, however, were those events commemorated which were most immediately connected with the birth of Christ (which was on this day commemorated in all those places where as yet no special feast of Nativity had been instituted[4])—such, for instance, as the visit of the Magi[5], the baptism in Jordan, and the first miracle in Cana of Galilee[6]. With the latter

[1] According to a tradition, which however was not unknown in the East; cf. Epiphanius, *Har.* li. § 29.

[2] Later also called Bethphania.

[3] In hac celebritate, sicut relatu paternæ traditionis instruimur [sicut posteritati suæ fidelis mandavit antiquitas. *Homil.* xxix.], multiplici nobis est festivitate lætandum. Ferunt enim hodie Christum Dominum nostrum vel stella duce a gentibus adoratum, vel invitatum ad nuptias aquas in vino vertisse, vel suscepto a Joanne baptismate consecrasse fluenta Jordanis. Oportet itaque nos ad honorem Salvatoris nostri, cujus nativitatem debita nuper cum exultatione transegimus, etiam hunc virtutum ejus celebrare natalem. (Cf. *Homil.* xxii.: Hodie illud colimus, quo se in homine virtutibus declaravit).

[4] In fact it did not really belong to the cycle of what is indicated by the festival of Epiphany (cf. Hieronym. *Comm. in Ezechiel.* c. i.: Hæc dies significat baptisma, in quo aperti sunt Christo cœli, et Epiphaniorum dies hucusque venerabilis est non, ut quidam putant, natalis in carne; tum enim absconditus est et non apparuit),—although the manifestation of Christ began immediately after his birth with the song of Christ.

[5] Connected herewith for a long time was the commemoration of the slaughter of the Innocents, which also the festival of the Epiphany likewise commemorated as being a foreshadowing of the sufferings of Christ. On this subject, see § 27, 2, a.

[6] These are the three matters which Maximus of Tours mentions as the most important.

was associated—though at first occasionally only—the miraculous feeding of the 5000[1]. And thus a triple signification was ascribed to the feast of the Epiphany as the festival of Christ's Manifestation[2]; first, as shewing forth his divine Majesty (in his Baptism at the Jordan); secondly, the universality of God's grace (in the appearance of the star in the East); and thirdly, his wonderful mercy and condescension (in his miracles). Throughout the whole Church the festival (although limited to a single day) was celebrated with great pomp, and also (at least in the East) it was regarded as the first of the great and solemn seasons for baptizing[3]. On this day too it was usual to publish the proper time for the observance of Easter[4]; and a custom soon arose of reckoning from it the Sundays before Lent.

However much this old Christian festival may at present be sunk into neglect, still in its peculiar signification, at once single and yet triple, it appears to be the characteristic presentation of a Church solemnizing by its festivals its historical creed—of a Church which like the ancient Church has, and is anxious to retain, its real historical Christ, who is something more than a mere idea—a corporeal, palpable revelation.

2 A Feast of the Nativity—a Christmas festival (in German, *Weihnachtsfest*[5]), *natalis*, or *natalitia Christi*, ἡμέρα γενέθλιος, τὰ γενέθλια, is only to be found obscurely hinted

[1] For this reason called φαγιφάνια.

[2] After keeping the feast of the Nativity, which this festival most appropriately closed.

[3] Cf. *Constitutt. Apost.* VIII. 33, with *Cod. Theodos.* XV. 5, 5.

[4] Cf. p. 164, n. 5.

[5] Called in Germany the *Weihnachtsfest*, from the solemn vigils which preceded the festival itself —the holy Christmas Eve, the first of the twelve holy nights which closed with the festival of the Epiphany.—Upon the Christmas festival in general, see A. Bynæi, *De Natali Jesu Christi*, libri II. Amstel. 1694; J. Kindler, *De Natalitiis Christi* (in Th. Crenii *Dissertatt. Philol. Syntagma*, I. 1699); D. H. Köpken, Ἱστορούμενα *Ferias Natalitiorum in Messiæ Memoriam Illustrantia.* Rost. 1705; Th. Ittig, *De Ritu Festum Nativ. Christi die 25 Dec. Celebrandi ejusque Antiquitate Dissertatt.* III.; S. J. Baumgarten, *Comment. de Solemnium Christo Nato Sacrorum Originibus.* Hal. 1739, and *Ejusd. Progr. de Mense Dieque Memoriæ Nati Christi Antiquitas Consecrato.* 1740 (also in the *Opuscc. Lat.* Vol. II. p. 1 sqq.); J. G. Körner, *De die Natali Servatoris.* Lips. 1758 (also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. I. p. 1, nr. 6); J. L. Schulze, *De Festo Sanctorum Luminum.* Hal. 1778

at before the 4th Century, namely[1], in Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, i. p. 407 (ed. Potter, ed. Sylburg, p. 340[2]). About the middle of the 4th Century we meet with an allusion to it in Ambrosius *de Virginibus*, iii. 1[3], and soon after, in the Roman Church, we have a regular *Festum natalis dominici*, and that too fixed for the 25th of December; for in Rome from the very first and in the whole of the West[4] also, at a very early period, this day was looked upon as the Saviour's actual birthday—a view which most assuredly must have had some historical tradition to rest upon[5]—especially as the chronological correctness of this date is defended even by St Chrysostom, *Homil. εἰς τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 354[6]. Moreover, modern astronomical calcula-

(also *ib.* nr. 8); R. E. Jablonsky, *Diss.* I. II. *De Origine Festi Nativitatis Chr. in Ecclesia chr. quotannis stato die celebrari solita* (in the *Opuscc.* edente Water. Vol. III. 1809, p. 317 sqq.); G. J. Planck, *Variarum de Origine Festi Christi Natalitii Sententiarum Epicrisis.* Gott. 1796 (also see Volbeding, l. l. nr. 9).

[1] Not to mention here the passage *Constitutt. Apost.* v. 13. Cf. p. 169, notes 4, 5.

[2] Clement in this passage, just before mentioning the festival of Epiphany as observed by the Basilidians (above, p. 165), clearly alludes to a Christmas festival of some sect of Christians, which upon internal grounds cannot have been Basilidians. He speaks merely of certain parties who wished to ascertain the precise time of Christ's birth, and to determine not only the year, but the very day. (But if they determined the day they scarcely would have left it uncommemorated). The date they seem to have fixed appears to have been the 25th of month Pachon, of the 28th year of Augustus, &c., &c. (*εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες*, κ.τ.λ.)

[3] He speaks of a precedent during the episcopate of Liberius of Rome, A.D. 360, Salvatoris natali; and with the words of the latter: Vides, quantus ad natalem sponsi tui populus convenerit; adding as follows: Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine cet.

[4] Even as soon as by the end of the 4th Century we find the Roman designation of the days of the week employed in other parts of the West. Cf. Sulpic. Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, l. II. c. 27: (Christus natus est viii. Kal. Januar.), Augustin, *Sermo* xxiii. § 1: (Dominus noster ante dies tredecim natus, a magis hodie traditur adoratus), u. a.

[5] Since otherwise, the fixing it on this day (which however can never in any case be proved *false*) could not easily be explained. The assertion that the annual commemoration of the Saviour's birth was fixed for the end of December, with a view to detach the Gentile converts from the cycle of heathen festivals which belonged to that period, is based on total ignorance of the feelings of the primitive Christians. See the remarks at the close of this paragraph.

[6] *Ἔχω τοίνυν τρεῖς ἀποδείξεις*

tions[1] also favour the conclusion that the birth of Christ must have happened towards the end of the year. A little later only, if it was not quite contemporaneous with the institution of the Western festival, we also discover in the East[2] a regular Feast of the Nativity, also kept on the 25th of December. And in fact no other date has even been received and sanctioned by the Church (cf. Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xxxix., and Greg. Nyss. Λόγος εἰς γέννησιν, *Opp.* T. II. p. 772, &c.[3], and indeed see especially *Constitutt. Apostol.* v. 13[4], compared with viii. 33[5]);—in Syria we meet with it—and here indeed as introduced from the West—about the year 376 A.D. (Chrysost. *ibid.*[6]). It seems to have been adopted

εἰπεῖν, δι' ὧν εἰσόμεθα πάντως, ὅτι οὐτός (25 Dec.) ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς, καθ' ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ....ἐτέχθη. And then follow these three exegetical arguments.

[1] Cf. Ideler, *Chronologie*, Bd. II. s. 399 ff.; F. Münter, *Der Stern der Weisen.* Copenh. 1826; and the recent work of G. Seyffarth, *Chronologia Sacra.* Lpz. 1846. (According to Seyffarth, the birth-year of Christ is the second year before the commencement of the Dionysian æra, and his birthday the 23rd of December).

[2] In the East unquestionably, at even a still earlier date, many different and private chronological hypotheses were adopted. Thus Clement of Alexandria, for instance, following reckonings which had been communicated to him by certain parties, fixed the 25th Pachon (20th May), or 24, 25 Pharmuthi (19, 20 April), as the day of the Nativity; while other calculations of Oriental sects assign this event to very different days. Cf. J. F. Mayer, *De eo, quod quibet anni Mensis Gloriam Nati Servatoris ambitiose sibi asserat.* Rost. 1701.—Even in the 7th century Jacobus Edessemus, in Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* T. II. p. 1636, observes: Nemo exacte novit diem nativitatis Domini; hoc duntaxat indubitabile est, eum noctu natum fuisse.

[3] Gregory Nazianzene, in the passage above quoted (p. 164, n. 3), speaks of the feast of the Epiphany as falling after the completion of another, and Gregory of Nyssa most distinctly speaks of the proper festival of Christmas (*ibid.*), and also in the homily on St Stephen's day (see below, § 27, 2, a).

[4] Τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσητε, καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὴν γενέθλιον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐπιτελείσθω εἰκαδὶ πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός.

[5] Τὴν τῶν γενεθλίων ἑορτὴν ἀργείτωσαν (the slaves), διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον χάριν δεδόσθαι ἀνθρώποις, γεννηθῆναι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον.

[6] St Chrysostom here, in a homily delivered at Antioch, A.D. 386, expressly says, that the Christmas festival on the 25th December had only been known among them within the last ten years, and had been introduced from the West, but was now almost universally observed. (Καίτοι γε οὔπω δέκατόν ἐστι ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ δῆλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὡς ἄνωθεν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμῖν παραδοθεῖσα ἐτῶν, οὕτως ἤνθησε διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς, ὥθεν οὐκ ἄν

latest of all in those countries where the festival of the Nativity had been most intimately associated with that of the Epiphany, as for instance in Palestine and in Egypt, where a notice of it does not occur before 430 A.D., *Acta Concil. Œc. Ephes.*[1]

The question, what occasion could have led the Church to the celebration or adoption of the Christmas festival, has been long answered, and with a most unnecessary display of learning; some deriving its origin from the Jewish feast of the Dedication[2], others from the Basilidians[3], others

τις ἁμάρτοι καὶ νέαν αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίαν προσειπών...Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωριζομένη, πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ κομισθεῖσα νῦν,...τοσοῦτον ἤνεγκε τὸν καρπόν...Εὖ γὰρ οἶδα, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβεστοῦσιν ... τῶν μὲν αἰτιωμένων, ὅτι νέα τίς ἐστι καὶ πρόσφατος καὶ νῦν εἰσενήνεκται, τῶν δὲ ἀπολογουμένων, ὅτι παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαία ἐστι, τῶν προφητῶν ἤδη προειπόντων περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης μέχρι Γαδείρων οἰκοῦσι κατάδηλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε, κ.τ.λ.)—And indeed in other passages, St Chrysostom shews a disposition to regard the Christmas festival as the highest, because the fundamental one of the Christian festivals (*Homil. εἰς Φιλογόνιον, Opp.* T. I. p. 497: Ἑορτὴ μέλλει προσελαύνειν, ἡ πασῶν ἑορτῶν σεμνοτάτη καὶ φρικωδεστάτη, ἣν οὐκ ἂν τις ἁμάρτοι μητρόπολιν πασῶν τῶν ἑορτῶν προσειπών. Τίς δέ ἐστιν αὕτη; ἡ κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησις...εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐτέχθη κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστός, οὐκ ἂν ἐβαπτίσθη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ θεοφάνια, οὐκ ἂν ἐσταυρώθη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πάσχα, οὐκ ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα κατέπεμψεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ πεντηκοστή. ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν, ὥσπερ ἀπό τινος πηγῆς ποταμοὶ διάφοροι ῥυέντες, αὗται ἐτέχθησαν ἡμῖν αἱ ἑορταί).

[1] It is about the time of the 3rd Œcumenical Council (see the Acts in *Manso*, v. 293) that we first meet with, in Egypt, the Christmas festival, on the 25th Dec., separate and distinct from that of the Epiphany, although at an earlier date there as well as in Palestine the common festival of the two had been kept (see above, p. 164, notes 5, 6).

[2] So J. Oldermann, *De Festo Encæniorum Judaico, origine festi Nativ. Christi*, 1715.—The Jewish Feast of the Dedication of the Temple, or the Feast of Lamps, which was kept on the 25 Kisleu (17th Dec.), presented most unquestionably many coincidences both in its ideas and its customs. Cf. Maccab. iv. 27, &c.; 2 Macc. x. 1—9, and Joseph. *Archäolog.* XII. 10. However this so late adoption of a Jewish rite is in itself altogether improbable.

[3] Thus Jablonsky, *ibid.*—According to his view, which is founded in the passage in Clemens Alex., the institution of the Christmas Festival commenced in Egypt on the occasion of the Festival of the Second Birth of Osiris, which was kept on the 11th of Tybi, or the 6th of January, and that the keeping of this Festival had its origin with the Basilidians, whose practice it was to give a Christian adaptation to the more offensive of the heathen festivals,

again, from an opposition to the Gnostics, the Manichees, and the Priscillianists[1]; others, moreover, think it was set up to counteract the heretical (Basilidian) celebration of the Epiphany[2]. Lastly,—and this is the view which is most widely diffused,—some have derived it from an adaptation of, or an opposition to, a heathen festival kept also in December[3] (the Græco-Roman *Dies natalis invicti solis*, or Brumalia[4])—the children's festival of the Sigillaria[5], and also the present-giving festival of the Strenæ[6].

But in truth the keeping[7] of a festival in honour of

in which some of the Christians, notwithstanding their profession, still took part. But that in a matter of such moment the Catholic Church should have followed the precedent of heretics, is very unlikely.

[1] So Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Pt 1. p. 225.—The Christmas Festival was instituted designedly with a view to set forth the belief in the Incarnation of Christ, which these heretics denied. But certain as it is that the opposition to Gnosticism tended to develope more and more clearly the true doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and certain as it also is that this tendency must also have contributed to the general observance of the festival of the Nativity, so far is it from being made out that this circumstance led to the institution of Christmas-Day.

[2] So Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte.*

[3] These two views are coincident, since what is meant is an adaptation, which is at the same time an opposition, and an opposition which is also an adaptation. This, following others, is the view adopted by E. F. Wernsdorf, *De Originibus Sollemnium Natalis Christi ex festivitate natalis invicti.* Viteb. 1757. Also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. 1. p. 1, nr. 7; and partly also by Jablonsky, *ibid.*, in reference to the December festivals of the Greek and Roman heathendom; whereas many, *e. g.* Loccenius, *Antiq. Suio-Goth.* lib. 1. c. 5, see in it a derivation from the Northern Mythology, *e. g.* from the Juel kept in honour of Freia (together with the Mordremech) in December.

[4] The Festival of the Winter solstice as that of the re-birth of the Son.

[5] Quæ lusum reptanti adhuc infantiæ oscillis fictilibus præbent. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1. 7. The Sigillaria, as a two days' festival, followed the five days of the Saturnalia of the 17th Dec., as the commencement of the peace of the golden age.

[6] Cf. Ph. Horst, *De Strenis Votisque Januariis.* Jen. 1632.

[7] This last-named derivation from the festivals of heathen Rome and Greece in December, seems indeed to be indicated by many passages in the writings of Leo and St Augustin; as for instance, when in allusion to Natalis invicti solis, *Sermo* cxc. *in Natal. Dom.*, St Augustin says: Quoniam ipsa infidelitas, quæ totum mundum vice noctis obtexerat, minuenda erat fide crescente; ideo die natali Domini nostri J. Chr. et nox incipit perpeti detrimenta et dies sumere augmenta. Habemus ergo sollemnem istum diem, non sicut infideles propter hunc solem, sed

Christ's Incarnation was so naturally to be looked for in the Church, that the lateness of its institution, rather than the fact of its celebration, is to be regarded as singular, unless, perhaps, the former may be naturally enough explained by the circumstance, that in the mind of the primitive Church all other incidents of the Saviour's life fell as it were into the background before the grandly significant events of His Death and Ascension. The date of the festival, however otherwise inexplicable, was probably determined on historical grounds. Moreover, as already remarked, this pretended adaptation of heathen festivals to Christian feasts was, to say the least, quite foreign to the temper of the early Church, and even to set up a rival festival in opposition to them was not less so, except in the case of such as admitted of being turned into days of fasting and penance. The accidental synchronism therefore of these heathen festivals—in the midst of which the Saviour, by a remarkable providence, was born[1]—is by no means sufficient to account for the origin of the feast of the Nativity[2].

propter eum, qui fecit hunc solem. And again, when the same father, *Contra Faustum*, xx. 4, adduces the objections urged by the Manichees against the Catholics: Solemnes gentium dies cum ipsis celebratis, ut Kalendas et solstitia, after Faustus had previously said, Sacrificia vertistis in agapas, idola in martyres; and when Leo the Great, *Sermo* xxv. *in Nativ. Dom.*, preaches: Hanc adorandum in cœlo et in terra nativitatem nullus nobis dies magis, quam hodiernus, insinuat, et nova etiam in elementis luce radiante totam sensibus nostris mirabilis sacramenti ingerit claritatem. These passages, however, rightly considered, contain nothing but a sensible Christian interpretation and ennoblement of the ideas involved in these heathen festivals, and which if otherwise interpreted would be most decidedly contradicted by other passages of the same writers (as for instance when Leo, *Sermo* vii. *De Collectis*, speaks of it as the practice of the ancient Church: Ut, quoties cæcitas paganorum in superstitionibus esset intentior, tunc præcipue populus Dei orationibus et operibus pietatis instaret). Indeed it was generally a stable principle of the ancient Church by no means to convert heathen ideas and practices into Christian ones, with a view of facilitating the adoption of Christianity; but on the contrary, to oppose the chief festivals of the heathens by the institution of days of penance, prayer, &c.

[1] Bene quodammodo Deo providente dispositum est, ut inter medias gentilium festivitates Christus Dominus oriretur, et inter ipsas tenebrosas superstitiones errorum veri luminis splendor effulgeret. (Maximus Taurin. *Hom.* v. in Galland. *Bibl. PP.* ix. 352).

[2] The Christian Church also adopted strange forms, transforming and sanctifying them by the

3 The days immediately succeeding[1] Christmas Day were at a very early date distinguished by festivals[2] bearing a very significant, though, perhaps, remote relation to the Feast of the Nativity. As the proper octave of Christmas, the first of January has, since the 6th Century at least[3],

new spirit which she communicated to them. This holds, for instance, of the practice of lighting the tapers, which was a practice of the Saturnalia—as well as on the Jewish Encænia, a custom so deeply significant of the origin of Christianity (Isai. ix. 2, and of the truth of Luke ii. 32), and also as a permanent but simple symbolising of Matt. ii. 11, and which tapers were also sent as presents. This was the case too with the feasts especially for the entertainment of slaves (Isai. lii. 13, Phil. ii. 7), and also with the custom of sending presents to adults as well as to children (Rom. vii. 32), and likewise with many other jubilant practices of northern nations. Of many instances of superstitious practices, which from these and other sources have attached themselves to the Christmas festival, see C. F. Pezold, *Diss. de S. Christi larvis et musculis*. Lips. 1699; P. C. Hilscher, *Der Weihnachtsaberglaube*. Dresd. 1722; S. Walther, *Historische Nachr. von der alten Teutschen Mordremech*. Magdeb. 1740; and other writers.

[1] And indeed not merely the next following. Inter natalem Domini et epiphaniam omni die festivitates sunt, says the *Concil. Turon.* II. c. 17.

[2] The observance of these days (out of which subsequently there was made even a second and third, but ultimately merely a second celebration of the Festival of the Nativity) was closely connected with the commemoration of the saints and martyrs; of which see below, § 27, nr. 1, 2.

[3] As far as direct proof goes, neither earlier nor later, although as early as the beginning of the 5th Century, we find in Maximus Taur. *Hom.* xvi., the inscription, *In Circumcisione Domini sive de Kalendis Januar.* Still this title is not critically indisputable. But when, on the other hand, it is asserted that the earliest testimony in favour of the *Fest. Circumcis.* is that of the Venerable Bede, in one of his Homilies (*Opp.* T. VII. p. 441), and that of the *Concil. Moguntiacum*, a. 813, can. 36: (Festos dies in anno celebrare sancimus... in natali Domini dies quatuor, octavas Domini, epiphanium cet.); Casaubonus, *Exercitatt. ad Baronii Annales*, II. § 9, and sometimes even that of Ivo of Chartres towards the end of the 11th, or even of St Bernard at the close of the 12th, in his *Sermones* iii. *in Circumcis. Dom.*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 73 sqq., and the canonical institution of the festival by the synod of Oxford, 1222—those who do so must strangely have overlooked the many clear traces which, as early even as in the 6th Century, testify to the observance of this festival, though not, as was to be expected, to its *universality*. For instance, the *Concil. Turonense* II. a. 567, can. 17, enjoins, ut hora viii. in ipsis Kalendis (Januar.) circumcisionis missa Deo propitio celebretur; and the nearly contemporary Liturgy, *Missale Gothicum*, contains our ordo missæ in circumcisione Domini, with the prayer, Ut cordis nostri præputia... spiritu circumcidat cet.

been kept as the memorial of Christ's circumcision, which took place on the eighth day after His birth,—and was called the *Festum Circumcisionis* (as the festal commemoration of the *adventus hominum ad Christum*, as Christmas Day is that of the *adventus Christi ad homines*[1]), and also termed the *octava* (or *octava*) *Domini*. On this day (the Kalends of January) the civil festival of the new year among the heathen was celebrated with unbridled excesses and with superstitious practices of every kind[2], in which many Christians took part even as late as in Tertullian's time (Tertull. *de Idololatr.* c. xi.[3], and even still later (see Chrysostom, λόγος ταῖς Καλένδαις, *Opp.* T. I. p. 697[4]; Augustin, *contra Faust.* xx. 4[5], and *Sermo* cxcviii.; Cæsarius Arelat. *Sermo* cxxix. *in August. Opp. App.*[6], and the still later reclama-

[1] Thus with great beauty and propriety, Amalarius (in the 9th century), *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, IV. 32: Christi adventum ad homines colimus in die nativitatis ejus, hominum adventum ad Christum colimus in octavis ejus...Dedit Christus suam deitatem et accepit nostram humanitatem...Quod dedit, colimus in nativitate ejus, et quod accepit, in octavis.

[2] Cf. Baumann, *De Kalendis Januariis*. Viteb. 1666; C. F. Frankenstein, *De Novo Anno*. Lips. 1673: also Ph. Horst, *De Strenis Votisque Januar.* Jen. 1632.

[3] Nobis Saturnalia et Januariæ et Brumæ et Matronales frequentantur, munera commeant, strenæ consonant, lusus, convivia constrepunt.

[4] For a description of those heathen festivals at which the Christians thought it allowable to be present, as given by St Chrysostom, or still more accurately by Libanius and Asterius, see Rheinwald, *Archäologie*, s. 223 ff. Cf. Neander, *Der h. Chrysostomus*. Berl. 1821, Th. I. s. 238 ff.

[5] See the passages quoted above, p. 171, note 7.

[6] Istis diebus pagani homines perverso omnium rerum ordine obscœnis deformitatibus teguntur, ut tales utique se faciant, qui colunt, qualis est iste, qui colitur. In istis enim diebus miseri homines et quod pejus est aliqui baptizati sumunt formas adulteras, species monstruosas, in quibus quidem sunt, quæ primum pudenda aut potius dolenda sunt. Quis enim sapiens poterit credere, inveniri aliquos sanæ mentis, qui cervulum facientes in ferarum se velint habitum commutare? Alii vestiuntur pellibus pecudum, alii assumunt capita bestiarum, gaudentes et exultantes, si taliter se in ferinas species transformaverint, ut homines non esse videantur...Jam vero illud quale et quam turpe est, quod viri nati tunicis muliebribus vestiuntur et turpissima demum demutatione puellaribus figuris virile robur effeminant...Etiam alias observationes veluti diaboli venena respuita, quas, quod pejus est, plures in populo christiano observare non erubescunt. Sunt enim, qui Kalendis Januar. auguria observant ...Diabolicas etiam strenas et ab

tions of the whole Church[1]). In righteous indignation at this abuse, the Church of the 4th Century appointed, in opposition to the heathen Games, a day of penance, prayer, and fasting (see Augustin, *Sermo* cxeviii.[2], compared with Chrysostom, *Hom. die* ii. *Jan. de Lazaro*, *Opp.* T. i. p. 707[3]), and also according to Cæsar. Arelat. *ibid.*[4]; which season of mortification was, at a later date in the West, extended to three days (*Concil. Turonense* II. A.D. 567, can. 17[5]).

aliis accipiunt et ipsi aliis tradunt, cet. (When, however, according to Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* clv., the Christians who took part in them alleged in excuse: Non sunt hæc sacrilegiorum studia, vota sunt hæc jocorum; he earnestly replied: Erras homo, non sunt hæc ludiera, sunt crimina).

[1] Thus it was ordered by the *Concil. Quinisextum Trull.* a. 692, can. 62: Τὰς οὕτω λεγομένας καλάνδας, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα βότα (vota) καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βρουμάλια,...καθάπαξ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν πολιτείας περιαιρεθῆναι βουλόμεθα (and here following an enumeration of particular details: ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν γενομένας ὀρχήσεις,...μηδένα ἄνδρα γυναικείαν στολὴν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι ἢ γυναῖκα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁρμόδιον, ἀλλὰ μήτε προσωπεῖα κωμικὰ ἢ σατυρικὰ ἢ τραγικὰ ὑποδύεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.)—To these extravagancies was soon joined (especially in France) the Fools' Festival, *Fest. Stultorum, Follorum, Hypodiaconorum* (s. Dufresne, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* s. v. *Fest. Kalendarum*), which however was, in the 14th Century, abrogated by the Sorbonne.

[2] Admonemus caritatem vestram, fratres, quoniam vos quasi sollemniter hodie convenisse conspicimus,...ut memineritis, quod modo cantastis...Et modo si sollemnitas gentium, quæ fit hodierno die in lætitia seculi atque carnali, in strepitu vanissimarum et turpissimarum cantionum, in conviviis et salutationibus turpibus, in celebratione ipsius falsæ festivitatis, si ea quæ agunt gentes non vos delectent, congregabimini ex gentibus...Si non credis, quod credunt gentes, non speras, quod sperant gentes, non amas, quod amant gentes, congregaris de gentibus ... Segregaris de gentibus, mixtus corpore gentibus, dissimili vita...Ut ergo sequaris redemptorem tuum,...noli te miscere gentibus similitudine morum atque factorum. Dant illi strenas, date vos eleemosynas. Avocantur illi cantionibus luxuriarum, avocate vos sermonibus scripturarum; currunt illi ad theatrum, vos ad ecclesiam; inebriantur illi, vos jejunate.

[3] Τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν οὖσαν σατανικὴν ἐποιήσατε ὑμεῖς ἑορτὴν πνευματικὴν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐνοίας, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Ideo—he continues after the words quoted in n. 6, p. 174 — sancti antiqui patres nostri considerantes maximam partem hominum diebus istis gulæ vel luxuriæ deservire et ebrietatibus et sacrilegis saltationibus insanire, statuerunt in universum mundum, ut per omnes ecclesias publicum indiceretur jejunium. Jejunemus ergo et stultitiam miserorum hominum lugeamus. (Cf. also Isidorus Hisp. *De Officiis Eccles.* i. 40: Jejunium Kal. Jan. propter errorem gentilitatis statuit ecclesia).

[5] Excipitur (from the time of not fasting) triduum illud, quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudi-

Ultimately, however, its place was taken by the Church's Feast of the Circumcision, which had been called into existence by the Christmas Festival, while at the same time an allusion to the earlier mode of observing this season was engrafted on the festival by a reference to the circumcision of the heart by penitence, as a contrast to the unrestrained enjoyment of flesh indulged in by the heathens[1]. It was only very lately[2] that this festival first embraced the elements of an ecclesiastical celebration of the New Year[3], which, however, soon absorbed the pure and original elements of a festival commemoration of Christ.

As a season of preparation both for Christmas and the whole cycle of the Christmas festivals, the Church (subsequently, however, to the 6th Century[4]) instituted the Sundays of Advent[5], *Dominicæ adventus Domini*, *dies ante natalem Christi*, intending them to be outwardly distinguished by solemn services of God, and by works of a Christian character[6] (see Cæsarius Arelat. in the 6th Cen-

nem patres nostri statuerunt, privatas in Kalend. Januar. fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur cet.

[1] See what has already been remarked (and especially p. 173, n. 3).

[2] After that St Chrysostom, *ibid.* l. l. ("Οταν ἴδῃς ἐνιαυτὸν πληρωθέντα, εὐχαρίστησον τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὅτι σε εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν περίοδον ταύτην τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν, κατάνυξόν σου τὴν καρδίαν, κ.τ.λ.), had but given suggestions of such a view.

[3] Elements however which the sections of the Gospel and Epistle for the new year (the naming of Jesus, Luke ii. 21, and the putting on of Christ, Gal. iii. 23—29), so well and pointedly presented—notwithstanding the assertion of Augusti, in his *Manual of Christian Antiquities*, p. 108, that the gospel of the day is one of the shortest and least edifying that the whole Calendar can shew.

[4] At least we do not possess any express testimonies to this point from earlier times. It is true we have (appended to the Cologne edition of the sermons of Petrus Chrysologus) two homilies of Maximus, bishop of Turin, in the 5th Century, with the heading *De Adventu Domini*. But there is good ground for questioning their appropriateness as Advent Homilies. The assumption of the apostolical origin of the Advent festival, which has been made by many of the earlier archæologists, rests upon a sheer illusion, being based either upon the erroneous hypothesis of the existence of the Christmas festival, or else on a false application to an institution of the Church, of some ascetical and dogmatical statements of Justin, Tertullian, and Clement, with regard to the *Adventus Domini*, the ἀφίξις Κυρίου.

[5] Cf. J. F. Mayer, *De Dominicis Adventus*. Gryphisw. 1701 (also in Volbeding, *Thesaurus*, T. I. p. 1, nr. 5).

[6] See Cesarius, *Sermo* cxvi. quoted p. 177, n. 2.

tury, *Sermo* cxv. cxvi. *in Augustin. Opp.* T. v. P. 2, p. 203 sqq.[1]). In the number of Advent Sundays the Churches of the East and the West did not perfectly agree[2]. At its early date the *Concil. Ilerdense* (of Lerida), A.D. 523 (in an extant fragment), appointed the season of Advent until the Feast of the Epiphany (together with the Quadragesimal Fast[3], until the Easter Octave and the three weeks before St

[1] The contents of these two discourses (which were formerly erroneously ascribed to St Augustin), clearly prove that they were delivered in the Church's season of preparation for commemorating her Lord's nativity. Appropinquante—so runs the first—jam sacratissima sollemnitate, qua Salvator noster inter homines nasci misericorditer voluit, attentius considerate, qualiter oporteat nos in adventu tantæ potentiæ præparari, ut regem et Dominum nostrum læti atque gaudentes cum gloria et laudibus mereamur suscipere...Considerate, quando aliquis homo potens aut nobilis natalem aut suum aut filii sui celebrare desiderat, quanto studio ante plures dies, quidquid in domo sua sordidum viderit, ordinat emundari, quidquid ineptum et incongruum projici, quidquid utile et necessarium præcipit exhiberi; domus etiam, si subobscura fuerit, dealbatur, pavimenta scopis mundantur, diversis respersa floribus adornantur, quidquid etiam ad lætitiam animi et corporis delicias pertinet, omni sollicitudine providetur. Et quid ista omnia, nisi ut dies natalitius cum gaudio celebretur hominis morituri. Si talia præparas morituro, qualia præparare debes æterno? Quidquid ergo non vis invenire in domo tua, quantum potes labora, ut non inveniat Deus in anima tua.—The details of the festival of Advent are then given more fully and explicitly in the second: Quia natalis Domini imminet,...bonis operibus adornati nos per Christi adjutorium præparemus, eleemosynas pauperibus erogemus, iracundiam vel odium de cordibus nostris respuamus. Castitatem etiam cum propriis uxoribus fideliter conservate, ad convivia vestra frequentius pauperes evocate, ad vigilias maturius surgite, in ecclesia stantes aut orate aut psallite cet.

[2] In the orthodox Greek Church the season of Advent, ever since the sixth Century, has begun regularly on the 14th Nov., or St Martin's day. Consequently there are six Sundays in it, and a forty days' fast, called the *Quadragesima S. Martini*. In the Latin Church there are in Advent only three weeks besides that in which Christmas-day itself falls, and consequently only four Sundays (as symbols of the fourfold coming of the Lord which is indicated by Scripture). Accordingly the beginning of Advent falls invariably between the 26th November and the 6th December. Cf. Durandi *Rationale*, VI. 2. The close of Advent is formed by the joyous festival of Christmas Eve, from which, in Germany, the Christmas festival itself derives its name. Moreover, the Latin Church numbers occasionally the Sundays of Advent in inverse order, so that *Dominica quarta adventus* is our *prima*.

[3] This had been ordered by still earlier injunctions of the Church (*Concil. Laodic.* c. 51, 52. —sup. p. 142, n. 8).

John's day), as one of the seasons (a *tempus clausum*) during which, in order to avoid all unseemly interruptions, marriage among other things was not to be celebrated[1].

REMARKS.—THE CHURCH-YEAR[2].

In the East the Nestorians were the first who made the Christian year (*annus ecclesiasticus*) to commence with the four Sundays of Advent. (See Assemanni *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, T. III. P. 2, p. 280[3]). From them, this ecclesiastically most consistent, and spiritually edifying practice, spread to the true Church. In the West, Gaul was the first to adopt it, and here we meet with it in the sixth century[4]. Before this, the Church-year had usually commenced with the high festival of Easter (on which account the month of Easter is called πρῶτος μῆν, in Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 32, *Constitutt. Apost.* V. 13, and elsewhere), owing, not improbably, to the fact, that the sacred year of the Jews began with the month *Nisan* (Joseph. *Archæol.* I. 4[5]),—latterly, however, this circumstance, when a certain antagonism to Judaism had sprung up, may have tended to facilitate the change—and also to the fact, that this was also the beginning of the natural year (Ambrosius, *De Mysteriis*, c. ii.[6]).

But now the opening of the Ecclesiastical year with Advent—ever since it became (what it still is) the practice of the Church—made the commencement of the year a preparation for the joyous festival of the Incarnation of Christ, as the festival of the Manifestation of God the Father, which in Easter and Whitsuntide was succeeded by the festivals of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. The Feast of the Epiphany, which followed next after Christmas, set forth and celebrated Christ's prophetical office; while the Lenten Fast commemorated His High Priesthood, and the seasons of Easter and of Pentecost His Kingly character;

[1] Quod non oporteat a septuagesima usque in octavas paschæ et tribus hebdomadibus ante festivitatem S. Johannis Baptistæ et ab adventu Domini usque post Epiphaniam nuptias celebrare. Quod si factum fuerit, separentur (*Mansi*, VIII. 616).—Similar injunctions, not only with regard to weddings, but also to all public amusements, whether of music, or dancing, or the stage, had been previously made by the *Concil. Matisconense* (*Maçon*, c. IX. A. D. 581), that of Aix and that of Seligenstadt, 1022.

[2] Cf. H. Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus. Mit zwei Nachträgen über das Christliche Kirchenjahr und über den Kirchlichen Baustyl.* Berl. 1843. App. I.

[3] Accordingly, with the Nestorians, the ecclesiastical year opens with the Dominicæ quatuor Annunciationis, quæ totidem Dominicis Adventus respondent (ab initio autem mensis Decembris inchoantur).

[4] Cf. Mabillon, *Liturg. Gallic.* p. 106, 188.—The universal adoption by the Church of the custom of thus commencing the ecclesiastical year, is in any case not more ancient than the completion of the present cycle of Christmas.

[5] Μωϋσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν...μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισεν. See Exod. xii. 2.

[6] Pascha est enim vere anni principium, primi mensis exordium, novella germinum reparatio, ac tetræ hyemis nocte discussa primi veris restituta jucunditas.

after which, the whole subsequent period after Trinity[1]—as an echo of the latter, and setting forth in *life* the faith celebrated in the previous festivals—called upon the Christians as new-born[2] by the events of Whitsuntide, to shew themselves to be regenerated in practice. [This is the object of the Epistles and Gospels of the whole season of Trinity. While those *e. g.* for the first nine Sundays, refer to Christians generally as new creatures, those from the 10th to the 13th apply to them in their collective capacity as such; and then from the 14th to the 22nd they call upon them to shew forth the graces of faith and love; while that of hope is exhibited in those from the 23rd to the 27th[3]]. Such, in its pure archæological shape, is the grand and elevating whole formed by the Church-year, having for its pillars the days and festivals of the Lord, and adorned with the wreaths of His Saints, § 27, which only the Evangelical and Lutheran Church maintains in its purity[4]. For whereas the Romanist overloads it with impertinent and heterogeneous additions[5], the ultra-Reformer[6] divests it of all its characteristic features.

Sect. XXVII.—OTHER FESTIVALS.

1 It was at a very early date indeed that the Christians began to keep the anniversaries of the deaths of the Martyrs—those teachers and members of the Church illuminated by the Holy Ghost, and rendered illustrious by Martyrdom—as the birth-days of a higher and better existence[7] (*γενέθλια τῶν μαρτύρων, dies natales* (*natalitia*) *martyrum*[8]). The early Christians were accustomed to assemble together at

[1] Cf. above, s. 162.

[2] Thus Th. Kliefoth, *Die Ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den Deutschen Kirchen Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*. Rost. 1847, s. 77, describes this as the season in which in expandless variety the lessons set forth all that has been gained for man's faith and patience by those gracious acts of divine mercy narrated in the Epistles and Gospels of the Festal half of the Church-year.

[3] Only not the vague abstract Hope of modern times, but the concrete Hope which the Apostles had of the second coming of the Lord.

[4] On 'das Kirchenjahr in den Lutherischen Kirchen,' see especially Th. Kliefoth, *ibid.* s. 32 ff.

[5] The Church of England also retains them in the same sobriety.

[6] Cf. § 27, *die Schlussanmerkung*.

[7] Natales sanctorum cum auditis, nolite putare illum dici, quo nascuntur in terra de carne, sed de terra in cœlum, de labore ad requiem, de tentationibus ad quietem, de cruciatibus ad delicias, non fluxas, sed fortes, stabiles et æternas, de mundanis risibus ad coronam et gloriam (Petrus Chrysolog. *Sermo* cxxix.).

[8] Cf. C. Sagittarius, *Diss. de Natalitiis Martyrum* (in Th. Crenii *Diss. Philol. Syntagma*, I. 1699); J. H. Stuss, *Comm. de Natalitiis Ecclesiasticis*, I. II. Goth. 1737 sq.; J. P. Schwabe, *De Insigni Veneratione, quæ obtinuit erga Martyres in Primit. Ecclesia*. Altd. 1748.

the martyrs' graves, and after having read the history of their lives, their sufferings, and their deaths, to partake of the Lord's Supper, in token that the Communion of the saints still subsisted, even beyond the grave[1]. The original purity of these commemorations as intended in part to do honour to the Lord himself, is attested not only by the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna in the 2nd Century (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15[2]), but also still later by St Augustin, *contra Faustum*, xx. 21[3]. By the 4th Century it had become the general custom to assemble in the churches of the martyrs[4], to hear the word and to partake of the holy Communion; the celebration of these festivals being introduced by preparatory vigils, and closed with an *agape* at the tomb of the martyrs. Of the latter custom we find traces as early as the 3rd Century[5], in Gregorius Nys. *Vita*

[1] Thus we have the early statement of Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* c. iii.: Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annua die facimus; and the still clearer one of St Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxiv.: Martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus; and in xxxvii. *Epist.* to his clergy: Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus...et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes cet.

[2] In reply to the objection of the heathens, that by their undue veneration for the martyrs, they neglected, or threw into the shade the worship of Christ, the Church of Smyrna replied that the heathen knew not ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστόν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβειν· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μιμητὰς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. And they declare it to be the general object of the festivals of the martyrs ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἴς τε τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν.

[3] Christianus populus memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat et ad excitandam imitationem et ut meritis eorum consocietur atque orationibus adjuvetur; ita tamen, ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria...Quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit apud memorias eorum, quos coronavit; ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major affectus exsurgat ad acuendam caritatem et in illos, quos imitari possumus, et in Illum, quo adjuvante possumus. (Epiphanius also says, *Hæres.* LXXVIII. §23: Οὐ χρὴ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος τιμᾶν τοὺς ἁγίους, ἀλλὰ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτῶν δεσπότην).

[4] See St Augustin, u. s.

[5] Gregor. Nyss. *Opp.* T. III. p. 574.

Gregorii Thaumaturgi: and by the time of Chrysostom we find it generally prevailing[1]. However, as was almost inevitable, it soon gave rise to so many irregularities (cf. August. *Epist.* xxii. *ad Aurelium*[2]), that even the *Concil. Hipponense*, A.D. 393, can. 29, found it necessary to make canons to restrain them[3].

At first (as was quite natural) each single Church celebrated the memorial of its own martyrs alone (*παννχίδες τῶν μαρτύρων, solemnitates martyrum*[4]), but afterwards some few, more highly esteemed, became the objects of commemoration by the whole Church. In the Greek Church a festival in honour of the whole army of martyrs was kept on the Octave of Whitsunday (see § 25, p. 159); in the West, however, the 1st of November has ever since the 8th and 9th Century been observed, after the precedent of the Roman Church, as a *Festum omnium Sanctorum*[5].

For in the course of time the idea of Saint and Martyr was very naturally identified. The religious commemoration of both, however, did not become in consequence more edifying or more significant, but, on the contrary, it was

[1] Cf. Chrysost. *ἐγκώμ. εἰς τ. μαρτ. Ἰουλιανόν*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 677.

[2] Comessationes et ebrietates ita concessæ et licitæ putantur, ut in honorem etiam martyrum non solum per dies solemnes, sed etiam quotidie celebrentur...Saltem de sanctorum corporum sepulcris, saltem de locis sacramentorum, de domibus orationum tantum dedecus arceatur!

[3] Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur.

[4] Cf. Sozomenus, *H. E.* v. 3.

[5] In 610 A.D. when the Roman Pantheon was given to the Church by the Emperor Phocas, and thereupon converted into a Church of St Mary and All Saints, the Roman bishop, Boniface IV., instituted a *Festum omnium Sanctorum*, which however was not universally observed, and did not long continue. It was renewed in the *Festum omnium Sanctorum et Martyrum*, which as early as the 8th Century was celebrated in Rome on the 1st Nov. (see Ado Viennensis, *Martyrolog. Aquilej.*, of the beginning of the 9th Century, who marks the 1st Nov. as the *Festivitas Sanctorum, quæ celebris et generalis agitur Romæ*), and which in the 9th Century the pope Gregory IV. made a festival of the Universal Church (cf. Sigebert, *Chron.* speaking of the year 835: Tunc monente Gregorio papa et omnibus episcopis assentientibus Ludovicus Imperator statuit, ut in Gallia et Germania festivitas omnium Sanctorum in Kal. Nov. celebraretur, quam Romani ex instituto Bonifacii papæ celebrant).

corrupted by the adoption of many heathenish practices and principles, by the habit of regarding the saints as semi-divine, and by the veneration not of the divine grace which was set forth in their lives, but of the human personage which had been the medium of its manifestation; while at the same time the number of the saints continually grew till it became an almost countless multitude—an abuse which the privilege of canonisation, usurped by the bishops of Rome towards the end of the 10th Century, was neither able nor intended to restrain, and which was first of all checked by the Reformation. See the remarks at the end of this section[1].

2 In the ancient Church the festivals of the saints and martyrs were generally placed between those which had been peculiarly consecrated to the commemoration of the Lord, not in order to diminish their honour, but to give them an historical bearing. Among these really ancient festivals in honour of individual saints and martyrs, the following may be mentioned:

(*a*) Certain festivals belonging to the cycle of Christmas in its present perfect shape—those, viz. which we have already mentioned as associated with the celebration of Christmas[2] (see page 173).

First of all the festival of the Protomartyr St Stephen, *Festum Stephani martyris*, which by the 4th Century was kept both in the East and the West (cf. Gregor. Nyssen,

[1] While a sound and sober Reformation does, it is true, prohibit and annul all superstitious corruptions of the honour due to the saints, it does not, on the other hand, by any means renounce and ignore the saints. On the contrary, the 21st Art. of the Augsburg Confession asserts, 'that it is good to keep the saints in remembrance, in order that our faith may be strengthened by our seeing how grace was granted to them, and how they were helped by faith; so that by their example we ourselves may be stimulated to good works; although, on the other hand, it cannot be proved from Holy Writ that it is right to *invoke* them, or to seek assistance from them.' (In perfect agreement with this the defence of the Confession, Art. 9, allows of an *honoratio*, or *cultus Sanctorum*, properly understood). It is only the ultra-Reformers who would prohibit every kind of honour to the saints. — See my *Symbolik*, 2te Augs. pp. 233—237.

[2] In the ancient Church they were counted as the feria, secunda, tertia, and quarta of the Christmas festival.—On their common signification, see p. 227.

ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Στέφανον τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα, *Opp.* T. III. p. 330 sqq. ed. Paris[1], as also St Augustin, *Sermo* ccexxiii. and *de Civitate Dei*, xxii. 8[2]. Most appropriately connected with the feast of the Nativity (cf. Gregor. Nyss. l. l.[3], and particularly Augustin, *Sermo* ccexiv.[4], and above all, his ten Homilies *De Natali Stephani martyris*, *Opp.* T. v. p. 1260, ed. Bened.) it was kept on the 26th of Dec. The prevailing idea of the Church in instituting this memorial, however variously exhibited, was that which has been briefly but forcibly expressed by the Pseudo-Augustin (Fulgentius), *Sermo* ccxv.: *Natus est Christus in terris ut Stephanus nasceretur in cœlis.*

On the following day (the 27th of Dec.) was next kept —although not from the first at so early a date—the festival of the Apostle and Evangelist St John—the Apostle honoured by the closest intimacy with the Lord, who lay on His bosom[5]—while the day after (the 28th) was

[1] Ἰδοὺ ἑορτὴν ἐξ ἑορτῆς... Χθὲς ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς δεσπότης εἱστίασε, σήμερον ὁ μιμητὴς τοῦ δεσπότου.

[2] In the first passage he mentions how in Ancona memoria ejus (beatissimi martyris Stephani) antiqua erat et ipsa est ibi; whereas in the latter [circ. 425 A.D.] he states in the case of Hippo: Nondum est biennium, ex quo apud Hipponem Regium cœpit esse ista memoria.

[3] Ἐκεῖνος—so, after the words quoted in note 1, St Gregory goes on to say—τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνδυσάμενος, οὗτος τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἀποδυσάμενος.

[4] Natalem Domini hesterna die celebravimus, servi hodie natalem celebramus; natalem Domini, quo nasci dignatus est, natalem servi, quo coronatus est,...natalem Domini, quo factus est similis nobis, natalem servi, quo factus est proximus Christo. Sicut enim Christus nascendo Stephano, ita Stephanus moriendo conjunctus est Christo.

[5] For this commemoration of St John we cannot adduce any proofs from the earlier liturgies and homilies. The *Missale Mixtum, dict. Mozarabes.* Rom. 1755, p. 46, is the first that gives a prayer for this day (it contains an allusion to the supposed near relationship between St John and our Lord. The prayer is addressed to Christ 'the begotten Son of the unbegotten God:' Qui sacrum illud arcanum pectoris tui dilecto tuo Johanni apostolo reserasti, cum in sinu tuo recubans evangelii sui fluenta ex ipso pectoris sui fonte hauriri promeruit; tu nos intuere propitius, ut per te abdita cognoscamus...reserans nobis pectoris tui occulta cet.); while from the Venerable Bede we have a Homily (*Opp.* T. VII. p. 432 sqq. ed. Bas.) *In Die Divi Joh. Apost.* (cujus hodie natalitia festa celebramus). On this anniversary of St John it was customary in the middle ages to send presents of consecrated wine; a practice which grew out of a very ancient legend which related how St John had changed into a cup of wine the

fixed for the commemoration of the children of Bethlehem, the victims of Herod's cruelty—the *primitiæ*, or *flores martyrum* (as they are styled by the Hymn of Prudentius[1]), and for whom the birth of Christ acquired the honours of Martyrdom (see even Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* iii. 16, and Cyprian, *Epist.* lviii.[2], and next St Augustin, *de Epiph. Sermo* i. or *Sermo* ccclxxiii.[3])—the very ancient and deeply-affecting festival of the Innocents (*Festum Innocentium*[4], *natales sanctorum innocentium*). Originally, however, and even as late as the 5th Century (Augustin, *ibid.* and Leo M. *Sermo* vii. *in Epiph.* or *Sermo* xxxvi.[5]) this commemoration was associated with that of the Epiphany (in the sense, *i. e.* it had in the Western Church).

In this spirit, and following the ideas of the ancient Church, which led men to regard the day of death as the Christian's true birth-day, these three commemorations of the deaths—of the Protomartyr, of the Evangelist St John, and of the blessed Innocents—were supposed to form, together with the feast of the Nativity, a collective festival[6],

cup of poison which had been sent to him by the emperor who had banished him. See A. Krazer, *De Diebus Festis.* Aug. Vind. 1780, p. 287.

[1] Prudentius, *Hymn. Epiphaniæ, Cathemerin. Hymn.* XII.:

Salvete flores martyrum,
Quos lucis ipso in lumine
Christi insecutor sustulit,
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.
Vos prima Christi victima,
Grex immolatorum tener,
Aram ante ipsam simplices
Palma et coronis luditis.
Cet.

[2] Bene sortiti—so these children are spoken of by Irenæus—illo tempore nasci, ut eos præmitteret in suum regnum, ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans. Christi nativitas—says Cyprian—a martyriis infantium statim cœpit...Ætas necdum habilis ad pugnam, idonea exstitit ad coronam.

[3] O parvuli beati—exclaims St Augustin—modo nati, nunquam tentati, nondam luctati, jam coronati....Non habebatis quidem ætatem, qua in Christum passurum crederetis, sed habebatis carnem, in qua pro Christo passuro passionem sustineretis. He had previously thus commenced: Rex noster, Verbum infans, magis illum adorantibus, parvulis pro illo morientibus,...nondum locutus credentes inveniebat, et nondum passus etiam martyres faciebat.

[4] The true Christian's festival of the ancient Church, which the modern Church has in vain attempted to find a substitute for by its silly modern trifling.

[5] Ad hanc vos similitudinem parvulorum mysterium hodiernæ festivitatis invitat, et hanc vobis humilitatis formam adoratus a magis puer Salvator insinuat cet.

[6] The first *express* mention of these four connected commemorations as forming one *common festival,* is found in St Bernard of

which concretely represented the general idea of Christianity —that, viz. as the divine was incarnate in the manifestation of Christ, so by the death *in Christ*—the death, *i. e.* of *his* saints, the human is transfigured into a divine life[1].

(*h*) The Feast of the Maccabees—*πανήγυρις τῶν μακκαβαίων*—which was kept in the Church from the 4th to the 13th Century[2], and was instituted in memory of the mother of the Maccabees, so heroic in her faith, who—a type of the Christian martyrs—died a martyr for her re-

Clairvaux, in a Homily *de Quatuor continuis Sollemnitatibus, scil. Nativitatis Domini ac Sanctorum Stephani, Johannis et Innocentium, Opp.* T. II. p. 72, ed. Venet.

[1] Essentially the same view, though more fully and peculiarly worked out, is given by Durandus, *Ration. Div. Offic.* VII. 42, who regards all these three saints in the order of their commemoration as representatives either of all the associates of Christ, or else of all the martyrs: Quæritur, quare hæc tria festa, videlicet S. Stephani, Johannis et Innocentium, immediate post festum nativitatis Domini ordinantur? Respondeo primo: ut Christo capiti et sponso omnes sui comites adjungantur. Natus enim Christus sponsus ecclesiæ in hunc mundum tres sibi comites adjunxit, de quibus dicitur in canticis: Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus. Candidus, quantum ad Johannem evangelistam, pretiosam virginem [Virgo electus ab ipso Jesu, virgo in ævum permansit; tradunt namque historiæ, quod eum de nuptiis volentem nubere vocaverit et propterea, quem a carnali voluptate retraxerit, potiore sui amoris dulcedine donavit —says Beda also (l. l. 225), following a tradition which is met with as early even as in the 4th Century] et confessorem; rubicundus, quantum ad Stephanum protomartyrem; electus et millibus, quantum ad magnam turbam innocentium. Secundo, ut sic ecclesia omnium martyrum genera, quorum quidem martyrii Christus causa fuit, adunaret. Triplex enim est martyrium. Primum voluntate et opere; et tale fuit martyrium b. Stephani, et hoc est dignissimum in genere...Secundum martyrium est in voluntate et non opere, quale fuit martyrium Johannis Ev....Tertium martyrium est opere et non voluntate, quale fuit martyrium innocentium, quod, sicut tertium locum obtinet in dignitate, ita et inter festa martyrum.

[2] Of the 4th Century we have, of Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* xxii. *De Macc.*, and a Homily of St Chrysostom's (*Opp.* T. II. p. 622), *εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους Μακκαβ. καὶ εἰς τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν*, in which this festival is called by St Chrysostom himself, *τοῦ παντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ λαμπροτέρα ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα.* In the 13th Century it is prominently mentioned by Durandus, *Rationale*, VII. 20: Occidentalis ecclesia nullius alterius sancti Veteris Test. festum celebrat;...istorum tamen [Maccabæorum] et Innocentium festum recolit. The feast of John the Baptist is not named here, because as it is in commemoration of his birth, and not of his death, it was not a festival of an Old Testament saint; but since then it has become a well-known day.

ligion under Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac. vii.), between whose sufferings and those of the Christian martyrs, St Augustin in his *Solemn. Sanctorum Maccabæorum, Orat.* i. (*Sermo* cec.) draws a beautiful parallel[1].

(*c*) The feast of *St John the Baptist*[2], which, however, differing from other festivals, did not commemorate his death, but his birth-day—his actual birth-day, and is the only nativity besides that of Christ himself that is kept by the Church (Augustin, *Homil.* cclxxxvii.[3]). And for keeping the birth-day of the Baptist there is reason enough in the fact, that that day is of such high significance for the Gospel, and also that the appearance of the long-promised Forerunner confirmed the existence and facilitated the knowledge of Christ (cf. Augustin, *Homil.* ccxcii.[4], and Maximus Taur. *Sermo* lx.[5]). The *Natalis S. Johannis Baptistæ* has from the 4th and 5th Century been observed on the 21st of June[6], being fixed by a truly significant allusion to the words of the Baptist, John iii. 30[7]—on the day from

[1] Ipsum martyres in manifesto confessi sunt, quem tunc Machabæi in occulto confessi sunt. Mortui sunt isti pro Christo in evangelio revelato, mortui sunt illi pro Christi nomine in lege velato. Christus habet utrosque, Christus pugnantes adjuvit utrosque, Christus coronavit utrosque.

[2] Cf. P. M. Paciaudi, *De Cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ Antiquitates Christianæ.* Rom. 1755 (Diss. III. et IV.)

[3] Natales dies carnis nulli prophetarum, nulli patriarcharum, nemini apostolorum celebravit ecclesia; solos duos natales celebrat, hujus et Christi.

[4] Occurrit quæstio, quare natalem, quo est ortus ex utero Johannes, potius celebremus, quam cujuslibet apostoli vel martyris vel prophetæ vel patriarchæ?... Quantum mihi videtur, hæc causa est. Discipuli Domini nati et per ætatis accessum ad annos capaciores perducti in discipulatum assumpti sunt; illorum postea fides Domino adhæsit, sed nullius illorum nativitas Domino militavit... Recordemur prophetas, recolamus patriarchas;...nati sunt, ut postea prophetarent; Johannis autem ipsa nativitas Dominum Christum prophetavit, quem conceptum ex utero salutavit.

[5] In aliis sanctis electisque Dei colitur dies, qua illos post tot consummationem laborum devictumque mundum in perpetuas æternitates præsens hæc parturit vita, in aliis consummata ultimæ diei merita celebrantur. In Christi autem sanctissimo baptista Johanne etiam prima dies atque ipsius quoque hominis initia celebrantur, quia per hunc Dominus adventum suum, ne illum subito homines insperatum non agnoscerent, voluit esse testatum.

[6] And if Christ was actually born in December, the birth-day of the Baptist, who was six months older, would really fall in June.

[7] Ἐκεῖνον δεῖ αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

which the days begin to shorten; while on the other hand, the Feast of Christ's Nativity is fixed for that from which they begin to lengthen (Augustin, *Homil.* cclxxxvii.[1], and Cæsarius Arelat. *Sermo* cxcvii. [August. *Append.*] § 8. 2[2]).

The festival itself, however, has in its celebration been deformed by many heathenish practices and ceremonies, both with water and fire[3] (cf. Augustin, *Homil. de S. Joh. Serm.* viii.[4], and *Homil.* cxevi. *Natal. Dom.* xiii. § 4[5]). At a later date, a festival of the death of St John as the *πρωταγωνιστής*[6]—called the *festum decollationis S. Johannis*, was added to that of his birth-day, and observed on the 29th of August. The latter, however, never attained to universal observance.

(*d*) *The feasts of the Apostles*[7]: in memory of the Apostles individually[8]. Among these the oldest and the most solemn was that of SS. Peter and Paul[9]. This com-

[1] Natus est Johannes hodie: ab hodierno minuuntur dies; natus est Christus octavo Kal. Januarias: ab illo die crescunt dies.

[2] Ut humiliaretur homo, eo die natus est Johannes, quo incipiunt decrescere dies; ut exaltetur Deus, eo die natus est Christus, quo incipiunt crescere dies. Magnum sacramentum!

[3] The custom of lighting fires on St John's eve (disapproved of by even Theodoret, *Comm. in* 4 *Reg.* xvi. 3, and at a later date, among other practices, forbidden by *Concil. Quinis. Trull.* c. 65), is older than the festival itself, and is found not only in the ancient times of Rome and the East, but also among the Northern and Teutonic nations. Cf. J. Reiske, *Untersuchung des bei den alten Deutschen gebräuchlichen heidnischen Nordfyrs, ingleichen des Oster- und Johannis-feuers.* Frkf. 1696, and J. C. Zeumer, *Diss. de Igne Johanneo.* Jen. 1699.

[4] Cessent religiones sacrilegiorum, cessent studia atque joca vanitatum; non fiant illa, quæ fieri solent, non quædam jam in dæmonum honorem, sed adhuc tamen secundum dæmonum morem. Hesterno die post vesperam putrescentibus flammis antiquitus more dæmoniorum tota civitas flagrabat atque putrescebat, et universum aërem fumus obduxerat.

[5] Natali Johannis, i. e. ante sex menses (tot enim menses inter se habent præco et judex), de sollemnitate superstitiosa pagana Christiani ad mare veniebant et ibi se baptizabant.... Adjuro per ipsum, qui hodie natus est,...adjuro, obstringo, nemo faciat! Ego me absolvo.

[6] Cf. Augustini *Sermo* ccevii. sq.

[7] A. Wilcke, *Festa XII. Apostolorum.* Ed. G. Hesse, 676.

[8] In later times (see below, p. 189, n. 4) called the Festival of *All* the Apostles.

[9] They are said to have perished as martyrs under Nero, not merely *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν* (this statement is made by as early a writer as Dionysius of Corinth, in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* II. 25), but even on the very same day. Cf. Maximus

mon festival, which was already in use by the end of the 4th Century, was intended to commemorate the martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul, as the chiefest of the Apostles and the most eminent of martyrs, and was observed with great solemnity, but especially in Rome[1], on the 29th of June, as the *Natalis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (cf. Augustin, *Sermo* ccxcviii. and Leo M. *Sermo* lxxx. in *Natali Apostolor. Petri et Pauli*[2]). Not very long after, this festival was associated with another, having reference principally to St Peter[3], and which, according to some, was originally instituted to commemorate the power of the keys and the priestly office in general[4]—but, however that may be, it was subsequently, at any rate, made to do honour to the pretended universal bishopric of Rome, and the so-called

Taurin. *Sermo* lxiv.: Prima hæc in illis beatitudo est, quod ambo una die passi esse nosceruntur, scilicet ut, quos una fides servitio devinxerat, una dies martyrio coronaret. That both of them perished at Rome is maintained unanimously by all the earliest fathers—such as Tertullian (*c. Marcion*, iv. 5: Romani, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt; *de Præscriptt.* c. 36: Felix ecclesia Romana...ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Johannis (Bapt.) exitu coronatur; u. a.); Caius of Rome in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25: (ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις κ.τ.λ.), u. a.

[1] But also in the East, for instance in Constantinople. Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16.

[2] Debuimus, says St Augustin, tantorum martyrum diem...majore frequentia celebrare; although, however, lætus hodierno die propter tantam festivitatem, he is nevertheless aliquantulum tristis, quia non video tantum populum congregatum, quantus congregari debuit in natali passionis apostolorum.—On the other hand, Leo of Rome, perfectly satisfied, says: Omnium quidem sanctarum solemnitatum totus mundus est particeps, et unius fidei pietas exigit, ut quicquid pro salute universorum gestum recolitur, communibus ubique gaudiis celebretur. Verumtamen hodierna festivitas præter illam reverentiam, quam toto terrarum orbe promeruit, speciali et propria nostræ urbis exultatione veneranda est, ut, ubi præcipuorum apostolorum glorificatus est exitus ibi in die martyrii eorum sit lætitiæ principatus. Isti enim sunt viri, per quos tibi evangelium Christi, Roma, resplenduit, et quæ eras magistra erroris, facta es discipula veritatis. Isti sunt patres tui verique pastores.

[3] Of a special commemoration singly of St Paul and another of St Peter, see below, p. 189, n. 4.

[4] As *Natalis Ecclesiæ et Episcopatus*. Thus says the Pseudo-Augustinus, *Sermo* cxci. *in Cathedr. S. Petri:* Quamvis sollemnitas festivitatis hodiernæ a nobis merito honoretur, quia dum natalem cathedræ (though indeed generally) colimus, episcopatum Petri apostoli veneramur cet.

Primacy of Peter. Under the name of *Festum cathedræ Petri*, the 22nd of Feb.[1] was celebrated with much splendour as early as the 5th Century (see Leo M. *Sermo* xcvi.[2]) In the 6th, however, it branched off into two festivals[3], both being instituted with a particular view to the promotion of the interests of the Roman see.

The feasts of the other Apostles were inferior to these both in antiquity and in importance[4].

[1] In consequence of the Roman customs in honour of the dead, which were observed in this month (*parentalia* or *feralia*), many heathen practices were mixed up with the observance of the festivals of this month. Cf. Pseudo-Augustin, *Sermo* cxc.: Ut super tumulos defunctorum cibos et vina conferant ...Cessate ab hoc gentili infidelitatis errore! which subsequently the *Concil. Turonicum* II. a. 567, can. 22, solemnly forbade: (Sunt etiam, qui in festivitate cathedræ domini Petri apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt, et post missas redeuntes ad domus proprias ad gentilium revertuntur errores, et post corpus Domini sacratas dæmoni accipiunt escas cet. And it was thereupon ordered that eos ab ecclesiæ sancta auctoritate repellant).

[2] Adest—thus begins St Leo—beati apostolorum principis gloriosa solemnitas, quam tota debemus animi alacritate suscipere, tota mentis devotione celebrare. Cum enim dies martyrii ejus merito habeatur in toto orbe clarissima, hæc non impari est totius ecclesiæ sanctæ gaudio celebranda. In illa siquidem alternantibus hymnidicis angelorum choris est ineffabiliter coronatus, in ista vero exultantibus undique fidelium turmis pontificali cathedra cum magna gloria est sublimatus. In illa ad suam beatitudinem cœli conscendit thronum, in hac vero ad nostram salutem sanctæ ecclesiæ adeptus est principatum...Hanc sollemnitatem nostram...non modo exterius, sed etiam interius pleno animi desiderio celebremus. Hinc ergo suaviter modulantium symphoniæ resonent, illinc concordes animorum motus concordent. Adornetur luminaribus ecclesia, resplendeat virtutibus conscientia. Mundetur sordibus basilicæ pavimentum, purgetur vitiis interioris hominis templum. Intueamur, continues St Leo, making the transition to the text of St Peter, intueamur oculis fidei beatissimum pontificem nostrum, episcopali subsellio sublimatum, sacerdotalibus infulis redimitum, populo suo per semet ipsum loquentem et in conventu s. ecclesiæ more solito concionantem. Ipse, ipse per semet ipsum dicat, quod et vobis et nobis agendum esse decernat. Ecce, O beatissime pastor noster, nos tuæ oves simul assumus, et ut nobis doctrinæ tuæ alimenta tribuas humiliter obsecramus.

[3] The feast of the *Cathedra Petri* for his Antiochene episcopate, the *Cathedra Antiochena*, on the 22nd February, and for the *Cathedra Romana*, on the 18th January. Both cathedra S. Petri qua sedit apud Antiochiam, and qua primum Romæ sedit, are mentioned by Beda, *Martyrolog. Opp.* T. III. p. 393.

[4] Besides the already-named earlier festival of *St John*, and that on the 27th Dec., mentioned

3 Among the saints, the highest honours have ever been paid by the Church to the Virgin Mary[1]. Nothing could be more natural or more just than to pay honour and reverence to her who is *blessed among women* (the εὐλογημένη ἐν γυναιξιν, as she is called in Luke i. 28, compared with Gen. iii. 15—the first promise of the Messiah as the seed of the woman). With such reverence the Blessed Virgin was regarded from the very first centuries. While, however, it was not universally paid[2], so neither, on the other hand, was it even at this early date free from all exaggeration[3]; to which danger of extravagance it subsequently became still more liable under the influence of heathenism and other similar errors[4]. The purest and

p. 183, the following Apostles' days were of later institution. The Festival of the Conversion, *Festum Conversionis Pauli*, on the 25th January, of which however we find no trace before the 12th Century; that of St Peter in bonds, *Festum Petri ad vincula* (Acts xii. 6, &c.), on the 1st of August; of Philip and of James the Less on the 1st of May; of SS. Simon and Jude on 28th October; of St Andrew, 30th Nov.; of St Thomas (who was formerly commemorated within the octave of Easter, see above, p. 152), on the 21st Dec.; of St James the Great, 25th July; of St Bartholomew, 24th Aug.; St Matthew, 21st Sept.; St Matthias, 24th Feb.; and lastly, of St Mark the Evangelist, 25th April, and St Luke on 18th October.—The Festum divisionis Apostolorum, on 15th July, is peculiar to the West, and even there it is far from being universally observed.

[1] Cf. J. A. Schmid, *Prolusiones Marianæ sex, c. præf. J. L. Moshemii.* Helmst. 1733; and Prosp. Lambertini, *Commentt. duo de Jesu Chr. Matrisque ejus Festis.* Patav. 1751, and Bonon. 1766, fol.

[2] In the 4th Century we meet with the party of the *Antidicomarianites*, against whom, as well as simultaneously against Helvidius of Rome ('the great fool,'—*den groben Narren*—as Luther calls him), and against Bonosus of Sardica, the Church steadfastly asserted the ever-virginity of Mary.

[3] At all events, the Collyridians of Arabia, in the 4th Century, appear to have been guilty of mixing up superstitious practices with the worship of Mary. See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 78, 79.

[4] Without mentioning the exaggerated sayings of the old heretics with regard to Mary (thus the Gnostics for instance had, Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 26, § 12, βιβλίον γενεᾶς Μαρίας), which probably had been in some measure preserved by the Apocryphal Gospels, and passing over that ascetical tendency, which since the 4th Century has been growing continually in the Church, associated with an over-estimate of the virtues of the virgin state;—still we must undoubtedly admit a certain heathen influence in the Church subsequently to the 4th Century—during a period when there was but little occasion for controversy against the popular heathenism, and for rigorous separation from

perfectly unalloyed expression of this reverence was contained in the two oldest festivals in honour of Mary; which were not only founded on the Gospel-history, but inseparably mixed up with it, and which, with much more propriety than any of the other saints' days, may be regarded as festivals of the Lord himself. As early, probably, as the 5th Century the Church observed a feast of the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary*, in commemoration of the Annunciation made to her by the angel[1] (*Festum Annuntiationis*, ἡ τοῦ εὐαγ-

it. It is undeniable of Euseb. (*Præpar. Evang.* XIII. 11), and in consequence it was only very possible for many heathen notions to be transferred to St Mary. Thus it has been thought that the worship of *Venus Urania* and *Anadyomene* in the highest sense (as the goddess who represents the principle of union between love and nature, see Lucret. *De Rer. Natura*), may be recognized in that of Mary as the most gracious of women; and it is apparently a confirmation of this view that we find in an old hymn of the Church, *Ave maris stella* (sometimes incorrectly written *stilla*), *Dei mater alma*, Mary compared to a bright star rising from the sea (so also in the sequence of the Synod of Constance), and that Mary is the patroness of shipping and seafaring people (an allusion to which is contained in the Doge of Venice being married to the sea); and so forth.—But, however this may be, it is certain at least, that as early as the 4th Century (as quoted by Greg. Nazianz. *Opp.* T. I. p. 279, ed. Paris), an instance of prayer addressed to the Virgin, and that towards the close of the 4th Century the poet Prudentius (περὶ στεφανῶν, *Hymn.* II. v. 127, 151 sq.) employs the most honourable terms when speaking of Mary—which however, by itself, would not prove much, since as early as even the 3rd Century similar honours had been paid to the saints and martyrs—and lastly, that by the 5th Century the custom of dedicating churches to the Virgin had become very general. The age of Justinian and the views of his general Narses, were particularly favourable to the worship of the Virgin. (See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 24).

[1] The homilies on this festival, which are ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus and Athanasius, are undoubtedly spurious, and belong to a much later date. However, even before 431 A.D., Proclus of Constantinople, who was the opponent of Nestorius, in one of the three homilies of his which have been preserved (ἐγκώμιον εἰς τ. παναγίαν θεοτόκον Μαρ., λόγ. α'.—in Galland. *Bibl. PP.* ix. 614), speaks of a festival kept σήμερον—ἀ πανήγυρις παρθενική, by which expression we can scarcely understand any thing else than the *Fest. Annuntiationis*. But if not this festival, yet assuredly none else can be meant than the other ancient festival in honour of Mary—that of the *Purification*. It is true that an ἡ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρα is first expressly mentioned in 692 by the *Concil. Trullan.* c. 52, after that the *Concil. Toletan.* X. c. 1 [A.D. 659] had already made several regulations with regard to the festivitas diei, qua invenitur angelus virgini Verbi conceptum et nuntiasse verbis et indidisse miraculis.

γελισμοῦ ἡμέρα, ἡμέρα ἀσπασμοῦ[1]). At first, however, it seems to have been kept on different days in different provinces; but latterly to have been fixed universally for the 25th of March, so that the day might rightly fall in with the Nativity on the 25th of December. Soon afterwards—at latest in the 6th Century[2]—the former festival was, in the West, associated with another, called the Feast of the Purification (*Festum Purificationis Mariæ*[3]), and which, after Luke ii. 22, compared with Levit. xii. 22, was appointed for the 2nd of February[4], while at the same time[5] the Eastern Church celebrated a corresponding festival which, differing from that of the Purification, not so much

[1] Also χαριτισμὸς εὐαγγελισμὸς, annuntiatio Domini, annuntiatio angeli ad beatam Mariam, festum incarnationis, festum conceptionis Christi.

[2] Beda, *Hom.* v. *in Circumcisione*, *Opp.* T. VII. p. 442, still more distinctly mentions this festival as die dehinc—from the fest. circumcis.—tricesima tertia, on which salutaris hostiæ munus ipse templi Dominus pro se non respuit offerri; according to Baronius, *Annal. ad a.* 544, Gelasius, bishop of Rome, hujus festi diei in occidente fundamenta jecerit, cum lupercalia penitus abstulit.

[3] Also called Festum Symeonis (Luc. ii. 25 ff.), or Festum Symeonis et Hannæ (Luc. ii. 25 ff. 36 ff.).

[4] As being the 40th day from the 25th of Dec., and the day on which, according to the Mosaic Law, the Virgin entered the temple in token of her purification, and offered the appointed oblation. (In the Christian festival many heathen practices were no doubt adopted, especially those of the Februaria). Beda (*De Temp. Rat.* c. x.), derives them from Numa, and ascribes to them the object, ut justa diis manibus solverentur; while however he goes on to add: Sed hanc lustrandi consuetudinem bene mutavit religio christiana, cum in mense eodem, die S. Mariæ, plebs universa cum sacerdotibus ac ministris hymnis modulatæ vocis per ecclesias perque congrua urbis loca procedit, datosque a pontifice cuncti cereos in manibus gestant ardentes, et augescente bona consuetudine id ipsum in ceteris quoque beatæ matris et perpetuæ virginis festivitatibus agere didicit. From these later processions with wax-tapers, and from the consecration of the tapers, the festival of the 2nd February has also been called Candlemass, or *Festum candelarum sive luminum.*

[5] Introduced, according to G. Cedrenus, *Compend. Histor.* ed. Par. p. 366, by the Emperor Justin; according to Leo Allatius, *De Hebd. Gr.* p. 1404, proceeding on the authority of still earlier statements, by *Justinian* (and even—according to Paul. Diaconus, *De Gestis Romanor.* l. XVI.—on the occasion of fearful earthquakes and pestilences, quibus calamitatibus motus Justinianus in honorem Christi Salvatoris festum Hypantes instituit, ut Salvator, qui Symeoni in templo occurrerat, etiam miseris propitius occurrere vel potius succurrere dignaretur).

in subject as in name[1], was called the *festum occursus*, ἑορτὴ τῆς ὑπαπάντης[2], and commemorated the presentation of Christ in the Temple (Luke ii. 25)[3].

A third festival in honour of the Virgin, though but little later, broadly departed from the historical basis of the Gospel, and grew out of a legend of the 5th Century (given by Gregory of Tours in the 6th, *de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 4). This was the festival of the Assumption—*Festum Assumptionis Mariæ*[4], kept on the 15th of August, and acknowledged by the Greek Church in the 6th or 7th Century, but not received by the Latin Church before the 9th. And this was the first beginning of a movement which, in the honours it paid to the Virgin, soon outran all discretion. After the 7th, and especially after the 10th Century, the celebration of the Virgin, as 'Queen of Heaven' (who, while she is spoken of as being ever only, is glorious in her Son, but is yet independently worshipped) quickly outstripped all bounds[5].

[1] In the East it has not at all the appearance of a festival of Mary, but merely as solemnitas Domini.

[2] Also ὑπαπαντη, *Festum Præsentationis Domini* cet.—Cf. Ang. Rocchа, *Opusc. de Præsentationis Mariæ in Templo Historia et Festis* Rom. 1597; and J. Mœbii *Diss. de Hypapante*. Lips. 1691.

[3] With these two festivals in honour of the Virgin Mary must be joined, not from chronological connexion, but by that of the subject-matter celebrated, one both of later origin and of less consequence, although having its foundation also in the Gospel. It is the festival of the Visitation, *Festum Visitationis Mariæ*, and held, on the authority of Luke i. 39, on the 2nd July, or eight days after the festival of the Baptist. It was not known before the end of the 14th Century, and only received the sanction of the Church in the 15th, at the council of Basle, 1439 and 1442. Moreover, a commemoration of the Virgin's birth, *Nativitatis Mariæ* (with a reference to the Evangelical genealogy as of the lineage of David), was kept on the 8th Sept., and observed in the East as early as by the close of the 7th Century; it was not till long afterwards that it was known and introduced into the West.

Similarly also, we must mention a festival, which, although it does not properly belong to the *Marian festivals*, and is rather to be counted as one of the saints' days, is yet in a certain sense connected with the former. It is the commemoration of *Mary Magdalene*,—having abundant foundation in the Gospel, especially in Luke vii. 36, and viii. 2; John xix. 25, xx. 1; Matth. xxviii. 1. It was kept on the 22nd July, and, introduced subsequently to the 12th and 13th Centuries, is first mentioned in the Council of Toulouse.

[4] Also, *Festum Dormitionis*.

[5] In the 10th Century a custom arose of fasting on Saturdays in honour of Mary, and in the times of Gregory VII., the Cult of the Virgin was brought to its

4 Besides the above-mentioned yearly festivals in honour of the saints, the ancient Church further celebrated :—

a. The Feast of St Michael[1], on the 29th of September—as the festival of the angels, and commemorated therein

perfect form by the *Officium Sanctæ Virginis*, and generally. Besides the two original Marian festivals, that of the Annunciation, and that of the Purification (with which, sooner or later, two others, the Visitation and the Nativity, were associated); besides also the *Festum Assumptionis*, two other great Marian festivals were ultimately introduced into the Church. 1. That of the Conception [*Festum Conceptionis Mariæ*], not, however, in an active sense, for in that sense it is commemorated in the *Festum Annunciationis*, but passively with reference to the superstitious doctrine (never broached till the 12th Century, but since then continually growing in favour), that Mary was conceived without taint of original sin. Held on the 8th Dec., it corresponded chronologically with the festival of the Virgin's nativity on the 8th Sept., which was now placed in connexion with the former. Owing its institution chiefly to the adherents of the dogma *de immaculata conceptione Mariæ* in the 12th Century, it was honoured by the Franciscans before all others, and universally observed upon the Roman Church's sanction being given to this dogma by the Council of Basle, A.D. 1439, and by Pope Sixtus IV. A.D. 1477 and 1483 (Cf. F. U. Calixt, *B. Mar. Virg. Immaculatæ Conceptionis Historia*. Helmst. 1696; and A. Gravois, *De Ortu et Progressu Cultus ac Festi Immac. Conceptus Dei Genetricis*. Luc. 1762); and 2, the *Festum Præsentationis Mariæ*, in reference to the pretended consecration of the Virgin, both to the service of the Temple—asserted by the Apocryphal Gospels, after the precedent of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*—and also to perpetual virginity. It was kept on the 21st Nov., and seems to have owed its origin to the East, where it has been observed since the 8th Century, whereas in the Latin Church it is not before the 14th Century that we can find any clear traces of it.—These several festivals are kept by the Roman Church as the *Seven great Marian festivals*, with which, moreover, St Mary Magdalene's day was in a certain measure connected.

Besides these greater festivals, the Roman Church observes certain lesser festivals (the number of which differ in different countries—Spain and Portugal, for instance, observing more than others).—The following were the principal ones, however: the festum rosarii Mariæ, the festum desponsationis Mariæ (on the 23rd Jan., and first instituted A.D. 1546), the festum spasmi Mariæ sive septem dolorum (kept since the 15th Century, on the Sunday before Palm Sunday), the festum gaudiorum Mariæ (on the 24th Sept.), the festum nivis Mariæ (on the 5th or 13th of Aug.) [in Germany, Lady Day], the festum compassionis Mariæ (on the 19th July, since 1423: according to others, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, or, as others think, the same as the feria septem dolorum), the festum beatæ Mariæ virginis de monte, and the festum Ægyptiacæ Mariæ.

[1] Cf. J. B. Maji, *De Festo Michaëlis*. Kil. 1698; and F. D. Hæberlin, *Selecta quædam de S. Michaële Archangelo, Festis et Cultu*. Helmst. 1758.

both the communion and fellowship of the Church triumphant with that which is still militant on earth, and also the blessed and holy angelic host as ministering to the heirs of salvation. These several commemorations were, originally, separate provincial festivals (as for instance that of Rome in honour of the archangel St Michael, *festum apparitionis S. Michaelis archangeli*[1]), and such they continued from the 3rd Century[2] to the 9th, when they were all combined into one, and the 29th of September[3] fixed for their common celebration.

b. As early as the 4th Century we meet with Church festivals on the *anniversary of a bishop's ordination* (cf. Augustin, *Sermo* iii.[4] and cccxxxix.[5]) (the *natales episcoporum*), as well as (see above, § 20, 3) on the anniversaries of the consecration of different churches.

c. Lastly, the Church kept certain days in memory of important *local events*[6], and certain solemn days of obser-

[1] Cf. Drepanius Florus, in the seventh Century, *Hymnus in Mich. Archangelum* (in the *Bibl. PP. Max.* VIII. 669).

[2] Subsequent to this date we meet with numberless legends of angelic manifestations; thus too, even in Sozomenus, *H. E.* II. 3, and then again especially in Beda, *Sermo in Revel. S. Michaël.*, *Opp.* T. VII. p. 506 (who however expressly goes on to remark: Hæc fuit prima causa, quod memoria angelorum fuit in terra; ab hoc tempore usque in præsens sunt ecclesiæ et festivitates eorum ad laudem Dei) u. a.

[3] The *Concil. Moguntiac.* c. 35, enjoins: Celebrare sancimus dedicationem S. Michaëlis: on the other hand, the Greek Church did not till long afterwards adopt this festival. [In the 12th Century, the Emperor Manuel Comnenus enjoined the observance of the feast of St Michael].

[4] St Augustin here announces the anniversary of Aurelius, bishop of Carthage: Dies anniversarius ordinationis domini senis Aurelii crastinus illucescit, rogat et admonet per humilitatem meam caritatem vestram, ut ad basilicam Fausti devotissime convenire dignemini.

[5] Here, on the anniversary of his own consecration (in die ordinationis suæ) he says: Hodiernus dies admonet me attentius cogitare sarcinam meam. De cujus pondere etiamsi mihi dies noctesque cogitandum sit, nescio quo tamen modo anniversarius iste dies impingit eam sensibus meis, ut ab ea cogitanda omnino dissimulare non possim. Et quanto anni accedunt, immo decedunt, nosque propinquiores faciunt diei ultimo, ...tanto mihi est acrior cogitatio et stimulus plenior, qualem Domino Deo nostro rationem possim reddere pro vobis.

[6] As for instance, the commemoration of deliverance from local visitations (cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* VI. 2), of the Emperor's accession or death (see Chrysost. *Homil. ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα Θεοδοσίου βασίλεως*, *Opp.* T. XII. p. 353), of victories, and of peace.

vance (*rogationes*[1] *litaniæ*) for the deprecation of public calamities[2], &c.

REMARKS.

The observance of the festivals mentioned in this section has been in the Roman Church a source of excess, in which it has gone even beyond itself. During the middle ages, and not only before but even since the Reformation, it has gone on multiplying their number by the adoption especially of festivals in honour of the Virgin[3], and of a countless multitude of saints' days[4] and the like[5]. Among them we must particularly mention one of mediæval institution, that of *Corpus Christi*, the most splendid and solemn of them all, although utterly devoid of any authority in ancient times[6].—The Evangelical (or Lutheran) Church, for its part, still retains every undoubtedly ancient festival. Among the rest therefore it keeps the memorials of the apostles, and of other truly inspired characters[7], those too in memory of

[1] Litaniæ græco nomine appellantur, quæ latine dicuntur rogationes.—*Concil. Moguntiac.* can. 32. (See also G. G. Francisci *Diss. de Litaniis.* Lips. 1693).

[2] Thus (Sidonius Apollinar. *Epistt.* v. 14) on the occasion of great calamities by earthquakes and conflagrations, Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, enjoined a three days' jejunium rogationum; while for a similar cause (*Oratio de Mortalitate, Opp.* T. I. p. 1663), Gregory the Great appointed a day of general penance with processions (a septiformem litaniam: litaniam clericorum, virorum, monachorum, ancillarum Dei, feminarum conjugatarum, viduarum, and pauperum et infantium); and the *Concil. Aurelian.* I. a. 511, c. 27, a λιτανεία for all the rural churches: (Rogationes i. e. litanias...ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari).

[3] For the more recent festivals, see above, pp. 193, 4.

[4] Among, or rather alongside of, the numerous saints' days of the Roman Catholic Church, that of St Gregory on the 12th March is not so much an ecclesiastical as rather a school-festival, instituted by Gregory the Great, A.D. 591, to commemorate the improvement of public education. For this purpose Gregory seems to have reformed the old *Sacra Scholastica* or *Minervalia*, the so-called *Quinquatrus*, which, according to Ovid, *Fastor.* III. 810 sqq., and Sueton. *Vita Domit.* c. iv., were celebrated at Rome about the middle of March. Gregory III. A.D. 734, renewed this reformed heathen festival, and dedicated it to its reformer as the *scholarum patronus*. And yet this festival does not occur in the ecclesiastical calendars from the 8th to the 12th Century.

[5] As such may be reckoned, on the one hand, the centennial Jubilee festival—first instituted A.D. 1300 as the Festival of Indulgences, which was subsequently reduced to a period of 50, then 35, and lastly 25 years; and on the other, the Festival of All Souls, Nov. 2, which, owing to the doctrine of purgatory, had been joined to the Festival of All Saints.

[6] Corpus Christi day, *Festum Corporis Domini*, instituted with a view to hallow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of the Adoration of the Host, is kept on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in obedience to the Bull of Pope Urban IV. A.D. 1264.

[7] Even a remnant of the Festival of St Gregory, as a school-festival.

the Virgin[1], which have their foundation in the Gospel history, and are in fact intended to do honour to the Lord himself—that likewise of St Michael, and those also which are connected with the feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas—the first of course including the Quadragesimal Fast, and Passion Week[2]. In so doing, however, the Lutheran Church reduces them all to their proper significance, and keeps them with a lower celebration, which moreover, she teaches, fails of its object to all but the truly godly[3]. The ultra-reformers, on the other hand,

[1] The Annunciation therefore, the Purification, and even also the Visitation, and with the latter generally Mary Magdalene's day, and at different periods (in its as yet pure and simple signification) the Birth-day of Mary, 'Die heilige Jungfrau Maria'—'The Holy Virgin Mary,' is almost the invariable style of Luther when speaking of Mary (*e.g.* in the Confession of Faith, A.D. 1528). The Articles of Smalcalde too, 1 and 4, confess the birth of Christ 'of the pure and holy Virgin Mary,' '*von der reinen heiligen Jungfrau*' (so too even the Augsburg Confession [the *Augustana*], Art. 3, '*aus der reinen Jungfrau Maria*'). 'She is'—'Sie ist' ['The Mother of God,' 'Gottes Mütter:' see the *Credimus, docemus, et confitemur quod virgo Maria recte Mater Dei appellatur et revera est:* see *Concordien formel Epit.* Art. 8, p. 607]—'the noblest jewel after Christ in the whole of Christianity,' '*das edelste Kleinod, nach Christo*, in der ganzen Christenheit,' says Luther, while preaching about her, 1532, *Works*, XVI. p. 536, Leipz. edition. But at the same time, even in this discourse, he lays great stress on the qualification 'after Christ' (for, he says, *Kirchenpostille*, Th. XIII. p. 429, 'what concerns us is not how holy and worthy she may have been, but what such a Son had done for us'—'denn es liegt uns nicht daran wie heilig und wurdig sie sei, sondern was solch Kind für uns gethan').

[2] See especially Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordn. in den deutsch. KK. luth. Bek.* Rost. 1847, s. 48 ff.

[3] What Luther remarks of Mary applies with still greater force to the saints: 'Aller Heiligen Leiden'—he says in a sermon on the Passion, 1534, Th. XVI. s. 182 ff.—'hat diese Ursach und endliche Meinung, dass Gott durch ihr Leiden geehret und gepreiset wird; Christus aber sollte sterben für das Volk. Der Heiligen Leiden mag man wohl predigen; aber darauf soll man fleissig Achtung geben, dass man sie gar unterschiedlich handele gegen dem Leiden Christi. Wahr ists, der lieben Heiligen Blut ist heilig; aber ich werde dadurch nicht heilig.... Meines HErrn Christi Leiden ist ein einig und sonderlich Leiden, darauf ich mich in Anfechtung der Sünden und des Todes verlassen kann und soll. Dass also all unser Vertrauen und ganzes Herz blos und allein hange an dem einigen Leiden Christi Jesu.' 'The sufferings of all the saints (Heiligen) has this cause and this finite meaning, that by their sufferings God is honoured and praised. But it was Christ the Holy One (der Heilige Christus) that died for the people. One may indeed preach of the sufferings of the saints; but heed should always be diligently taken to treat them differently from the sufferings of Christ. It is true, the blood of the saints is holy, but I shall never be made holy through it....The suffering of my Lord Christ is a suffering that has nothing like it,

who in *rigorous* consistency with their principles must refuse to keep as holidays even the three great feasts of the Church, by this ultra-spiritual abrogation of all such commemorations (those wreaths around the pillars of the Church-year, see p. 178), have cut away from beneath their own feet the true foundations of history and antiquity[1].

and extraordinary; on it I can rely in the combat with sin and death. All our trust therefore and all our heart must rest solely and entirely on the one suffering of Christ Jesus.'—It is simply and only in accordance with this principle that the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church has continued to observe the anniversaries of apostles and martyrs. On this subject, together with the passages quoted in p. 182 from ancient writers, consult Chr. Pelargi, *Disput.* XIX. *Theol. de Lection. ev. et dieb. festis, thes.* 15: Apostolorum sanctorumque martyrum dies, quos falso aliis sanctiores somniant papicolæ, statuimus ἀδιάφορον esse et servari, si legitimus accedat cultus et absit fiducia meriti; and A. V. Helbach, *Ausmusterung der jetzt schwebenden Calvin. Irrthümer*, s. 81: 'It is right to keep the festivals of Apostles, 1st, that God may be thanked for the lives of such people—their call, their gifts, and their deeds, and that they themselves may receive the praise due to their fidelity (Luke i. 48); 2nd, that prayer may be made to God, that He will never hereafter leave His Church, but that he would be pleased to send faithful labourers into His vineyard (Matt. ix. 38); 3rd, that the faith of the martyrs, their confession, their life and martyrdom, may be set forth and adopted as examples (1 Cor. xi. 1; 2 Thess. iii. 9; Philip. iii. 18); 4th, that in their weakness, and even in their great falls and gross sins, we may see our own as in a mirror, and not become confident (1 Cor. x. 6); 5th, that all abuses and superstitions may, with angels and saints, be pulled down, punished, refuted, and torn from out of the heart (Gal. iv. 10); 6th, that Christian liberty may be borne witness to and maintained (Gal. ii. 4).'

[1] By the adoption of a modified festival of All Souls in a commemoration of the dead (whereas the Evangelical festival of the dead is, and ever will be, the festival of Easter), and by a theatrically pompous but vagrant observance of a multitude of missionary festivals (whereas the Evangelical festivals of missions are Epiphany and Whitsuntide—with which, however, certain modest *local commemorations* of missions may very well consist)—by these days—not to mention others—a certain section of the ultra-reformers attempted, though most inadequately, to restore this basis: on the other hand, the Lutheran celebration of a festival of the Reformation is by no means liable to such objections.

CHAPTER THIRD.

OF ECCLESIASTICAL RITES[1].

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN THE STRICTER SENSE.

Cf. J. S. Durantus, *De Ritibus Eccl. Cathol.* Rom. 1560, *ed. nov.* Lugd. 1675. 4; J. Vicecomes, *Observatt. Ecclesiasticæ* (besonders in Bezug auf die Sacramente). Mediol. 1615. 4; G. Albaspinæus, *De Veterib. Ecclesiæ Ritibus.* Par. 1624, and Helmst. 1672. 4; B. Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacror. Rituum.* Venet. 1630, and ed. C. M. Merati, Rom. 1736. 4: J. B. Casalius, *De Veterib. Sacror. Christianorum Ritibus Ecclesiæ sive orientalis sive occidentalis.* Rom. 1644. 4, 1647 f., Han. 1684. 4; J. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* libri II. 3 vol. Par. 1672. 4, Aug. Taur. 1747 f.; E. Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus.* Rothom. 1700, Antv. 1736. 4; Dess. *Tractatus de Antiqua Eccl. Disciplina in div. celebrand. officiis.* Lugd. 1706. 4; J. C. W. Augusti, *Die heiligen Handlungen der Christen,* als. Bd. 4 ff. *der Denkwürdigkeiten:* H. Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus, nach seinen verschiedenen Entwickelungsformen und seinen einzelnen Theilen historisch dargestellt. Mit zwei Nachträgen über das christliche Kirchenjahr und über denkirchlichen Baustyl.* Berl. 1843[2].

Sect. XXVIII.—THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN GENERAL.

FROM the first[3] the public worship of the Christian Church consisted of the ministration of the Word and

[1] Omitting to notice the almost endless series of extraordinary treatises, which moreover contain little or nothing of an historical or genetical development.

[2] Of less general value are the following: M. Bauldry, *Manuale Sacr. Cærimoniar. juxta ritum S. Romanæ Eccl.* ed. 4. Ven. 1703. 4; A. Roccha, *Thesaurus Pontific. Sacrarumque Antiquitt. nec non rituum cet.* Rom. 1745, 2 voll. f.; Cl. de Vert, *Explication simple cet. des Cérémonies de l'Egl.* ed. 3, 4 voll. Par. 1720. 8; P. le Brun, *Explication cet. des Prières et des Cérém. de la Messe.* 4 voll. Par. 1726. 8; J. Dallæi *De Cultib. Religiosis Latinor.* Libb. IX. Genev. 1671. 4; also F. A. Staudenmaier, *Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, heiligen Handlungen und in der heiligen Kunst.* Mainz. 2. A. 1838. 2 Thle.—Not to mention the treatises of an exclusively Protestant tendency.

[3] Comp. the Acts ii. 42, and the passages of the New Testament, on the subject of song, § 29, towards the beginning; Plinii *Epist. ad Trajan.* (*Epp.* x. 96, p. 97); Justin M. *Apol.* II. p. 98,

Sacraments, the congregation with the priest taking its part therein alternately; consequently of hearing and reading the Word, of prayer, and psalmody; to which was further added a common feast of Brotherly Love, during which the Holy Communion was administered. Baptism was most commonly administered apart by itself. As early as the 2nd Century the two principal parts of the public service of the Church had become distinct and separate, both as regards the Word and the Eucharist (see Tertullian, *de Præscript.* c. xli.[1], and St Jerome on Galat. vi. 6[2]). These two portions were respectively entitled, 1st, *missa catechumenorum*[3], λειτουργία τῶν κατηχουμένων, which consisted of singing, the reading of Scripture, and of preaching, and at which from the very first (1 Cor. xiv. 23[4]) every one, even unbelievers, were permitted to be present[5]; and 2d,

ed. Col.; Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. xxxix.

[1] Tertullian objects to the heretics the want of such a separation: Non omittam ipsius etiam conversationis hæreticæ descriptionem, quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit, sine gravitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplina, ut fidei suæ congruens. Imprimis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant cet.

[2] St Jerome, too, reproves the absence of such a separation, as something heretical and indeed peculiarly characteristic of the Marcionites. Marcion—he says on the passage of the Epistle to the Galatians—hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret, fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere cet.

[3] The word *missa* was originally employed to designate the dismissal of the catechumens at the close of this part of divine service, as equivalent to *missio, dimissio* (cf. Augustin, *Sermo* xlix.: post sermonem fit missa catechumenis, manebunt fideles; *Concil. Carthag.* iv. a. 398, c. 84: ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire...usque ad missam catechumenorum; Avitus of Vienna, *Epist.* i.: in ecclesiis...missa fieri pronuntiatur, cum populus ab observatione dimittitur); and then afterwards denominated these two parts of the service as distinguished by the *missa* in its original signification; and lastly, since the time of Gregory the Great, of the second of these two parts—pre-eminently of the celebration of the Holy Communion.

[4] Ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ...καὶ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλῶσιν, εἰσέλθωσι δὲ ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι, κ. τ. λ.

[5] That in general this was also permitted in the 4th Century, is testified by the *Concil. Carthag.* iv. (*Statuta Eccl. Antiqu.*) c. 84: (Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum); and in the same way afterwards, the *Concil. Valent.* c. 1: (Censuimus observandum, ut sacrosancta evangelia...in missa catechumenorum ...vel sermones sacerdotis non so-

the *missa fidelium*, λειτουργία τῶν πιστῶν—consisting of the prayers of the whole Church, and of the ministration of the Holy Communion—and attended by none but the baptized[1]. It was not until the 4th Century that these two parts were again fused together into one indissoluble whole.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The general outline of the Public Worship of the Church, such as it was drawn in the first six centuries, was maintained down to the Reformation; only the Roman Church had overloaded it with continual additions of external ceremonies, intended to present its rites in an outward form and symbolical pomp, and calculated to strike and to gratify the senses. This form of the Church Service has been retained by the Roman Church, which seeks to give a material objectivity and an out-

lum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni et pœnitentes et omnes, qui e diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant).

[1] Since according to the view so correctly held by the ancient Church, of the peculiar character of the Sacraments as alone irrevocably engratting into the Church, all others were excluded from the *missa fidelium*, there was formed for it—and generally for the whole administration of the Sacraments, and the doctrines immediately referring thereto—both of which were only open to the πιστοῖς, *μεμυημένοις, initiatis*, but not to the ἀμήτοις, ἀτελέστοις, &c. &c.; cf. Basil M. *De Spir. S.* c. xxvii.: ἃ οὐκ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμήτοις· Cyril Hieros. *Catech.* VI. § 29: ταῦτα τὰ μυστήρια...οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος ἐκτιθεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀμήτοις· ἀπρεπὲς γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις ἐκθέσθαι τὰ μυστήρια· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐξηγεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.: Ambros. *De Mysteriis*, c. i.: Sacramentorum rationem ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur; Chrysost. *Hom.* xxiii. *in Matth.*: τὰ μυστήρια τὰς θύρας κλείσαντες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀμήτους εἰργόμεν· Augustin, *Expos. in Ps.* ciii. *Sermo* i.: Quid est, quod occultum est et non publicum in ecclesia? Sacramentum baptismi, sacr. eucharistiæ. Opera nostra bona vident pagani, sacramenta vero occultantur illis; and elsewhere)—the name also of *sacra privata*, or *secreta*, *μυστήρια*, as contrasted with the *sacra publica*, the *missa catechumenorum*, and equivalent with the later *disciplina arcani*, although the latter term has given occasion to many arbitrary assumptions and theories, especially in the Roman Catholic Church. Cf. G. Th. Meier, *De Recondita Vet. Eccl. Theologia*. Helmst. 1677; E. a Schelstrate (*Vatic. Bibl. Præf.*) *Antiquitas Illustrata cet.* Antv. 1678; in reply to him G. E. Tentzel, 1683, in his *Exercitt. Sel.* T. II. p. 1 sqq.; E. a Schelstrate, *De Discipl. Arcani contra Tentz.* Rom. 1685, ed. 4. Pat. 1743; G. E. Tentzel, *De Discipl. Arcani apud Vett. Christianos adv. Schelstr.* Viteb. 1685 (in his *Exercitatt. Select.* T. II. Lips. 1690); Th. Crüger, *Comm. de Discip. Arc. Vet. Christt. per μυστηριοκρυψίαν* cet. in his *Analecta Lit.* T. II. p. 569 sqq.; J. L. Schedius, *De Sacris Opertis Vett. Christianorum sive de Disc. quam Voc. Arc.* Gott. 1790; also Bingham, *De Origine, Natura et Causis Reticentiæ Sanctor. Eccl. Mysterior. coram Catechumenis*, in his *Origines*, T. IV. p. 119 sqq.; and other writers.

ward sensual representation, not only of its abstract dogmas, but also of its concrete rites. The opposite extreme has been adopted by all the ultra-Reformers (with their many shades of opinion) expressing and symbolizing, in a so-called spiritual worship and service, their general doctrinal spiritualism. Observing the mean between a meagre barrenness on the one hand, and of a superfluity of ceremony on the other, the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church (wherever it still subsists in the power of truth and life), conforming to the pure Evangelical medium between a *materialism* which prides itself in the *Church*, and an *Idealism* which is no less proud of the *Spirit*, combines objectivity with subjectivity, the corporeal with the spiritual, and moulds them both, as being alike edifying and instructive elements of public worship, into one pregnant whole[1].

Sect. XXIX.—THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHURCH.

Cf. J. Bona, *De Divina Psalmodia ejusque Causis, Mysteriis ac Disciplinis.* Par. 1643. 4; Mart. Gerbert, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra a Prima Ecclesiæ ætate usque ad Præs. Tempus.* Bamb. 1774. 2 Voll. 4; also Dess. *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra*, T. I.—III. 1784; E. E. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesanges*, 2 Thle. Stuttg. 1847. Th. I. p. 8 ff.

The example of Christ himself and his Apostles (Matt. xxvi. 30, and Acts xvi. 25), and also their precepts (James v. 13; Ephes. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), justify us in considering the custom of singing hymns to be very ancient indeed in the Christian Church. The practice of singing such spiritual songs is said to have been fostered and promoted by so early an authority as Ignatius of Antioch[2];

[1] Of the ritual generally of the chief communities of the Church since the Reformation, see my *Symbolik*, 2 Aus. § 72, p. 633; for some special matters, see Th. Kliefoth, *Die Ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den Deutschen Kirchen Lutherischen Bekenntnisses.* Rost. 1847.—This general remark, moreover, applies to all the single details of the ritual, psalmody, for instance, preaching, prayers, sacraments (all of which—if we overlook in the present case the deeper doctrinal differences of creeds which have necessarily an essential influence on the *intrinsic* value both of Word and Sacrament—exhibit a pure germ enveloped in one extreme or other either of an external superfluity or of meagreness of liturgical ceremonies), so that there is not any need of a further reference to the Trichotomy of the more recent and modern Church-development. (The reference to the Liturgies must excuse the greater want of details in this section, than a consideration of its importance would otherwise seem to demand).

[2] He is said to have introduced the practice of chanting passages from the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, the words of institution, and short prayers at the altar.

and it was practised not only for private edification (Tertull. *ad Uxor.* ii. 9[1], compared with *de Spectaculis*, c. xxix.[2]), but also for the purposes of public worship (Plinii *Epist. ad Traj.* x. 96[3]), who mentions not only the practice but also the subject-matter of the hymns.

1 In the first centuries the Hymnology of the Church seems to have been extremely simple and artless, being, according to the statement of Isidorus Hispal. *de Ecclesiast. Offic.* i. 5, chiefly recitative[4]. After the 4th Century, however, which called into existence professional singers, ψάλται, *cantores*[5], it continually received greater culture and variety. This improvement began first of all in the East, and undoubtedly owed something to the influence of heretical bodies[6]. Singing in course (τὸ ἀντίφωνον, *antiphona*), which by this date had become the favourite practice, was also an institution of the Eastern Church. According to Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 24, it was first introduced at Antioch, A.D. 350 circ. by the monks Diodorus and Flavianus[7]; but according to Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8, its introduction was owing to a vision of St Ignatius. On the other hand, complaints were at a very early date to be heard in the East, where it was urged that the Church-music had been vitiated by the adoption of a laboured and

[1] He says of Christian married people: Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo suo canat.

[2] Si scenicæ doctrinæ delectant, satis nobis literarum est, satis versuum est, satis etiam canticorum, satis vocum, nec fabulæ, sed veritates, nec strophæ, sed simplicitates—which does not at least exclude private singing at home.

[3] That the Christians essent soliti, stato die...convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.

[4] Primitiva ecclesia ita psallebat, ut modico flexu vocis faceret psallentem resonare, ita ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

[5] See above, § 14, p. 65.

[6] The Arians, for instance, in the depth of night, walked in processions by torch-light, singing beautiful hymns and anthems, to which the people flocked in troops. Accordingly St Chrysostom believed that nothing better could be done than to attempt to surpass the Arians, by still more beautiful singing and orthodox hymns, and thereby introducing a church-psalmody of a more solemn and moving character. (Sozomenus, *H. E.* viii. 8).

[7] Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄδειν τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον πάντοτε διέδραμε, καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.

theatrical style (see St Jerome *on Ephes.* v. 19[1], and St Chrysostom, *Opp.* T. VI. p. 97). And this extreme (which, however, was not at this date practised to any extent by any but the heretical bodies) St Jerome sought to counteract in the West by introducing the opposite extreme of singing in monotone, as practised by the monks. But, notwithstanding, Church-music was, about this time, greatly improved in the West also. This improvement was owing to two different schools. The one was headed by Ambrose of Milan (who had, however, Hilary of Poictiers for his forerunner herein), while the other was encouraged and patronized by the East, where the custom of antiphonal singing[2] in a sort of prick-song prevailed, but which was, however, carefully guarded against the secularity to which by its variations it was exposed. Most of the Churches of the West soon followed the impressive and successful example of Milan[3]. This style, however, as was almost inevitable, gradually lost the noble simplicity of its original, and became in time more or less secular. And then a new reformer of Church-music arose in Gregory the Great. In place of the melodious swell and rhythmical tones of the Ambrosian chant (which, moreover, was antiphonal, and abounding in variations), he substituted simplicity, *cantus firmus*, and an unvarying melody to be

[1] Audiant hæc adolescentuli hi, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce sed corde cantandum, nec in tragœdorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia scripturarum. Quamvis sit aliquis, ut solent illi appellare, *καλόφωνος*, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantor est. Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant, quæ leguntur, ut spiritus malus, qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab his, qui similiter ab eo possidentur, et non introducatur in eos, qui de Dei domo scenam fecere populorum.

[2] Hoc in tempore—we are told by Paulinus, in the *Vita Ambrosii*, § 13—primo antiphonæ hymni ac vigiliæ in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt. And St Augustin, *Confess.* IX. 7, speaking of his residence in Milan: Tum hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est, et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, cet.

[3] Multis jam — St Augustin goes on to say, after having himself described the moving impression made by such singing—ac pæne omnibus gregibus tuis et per ceteras orbis partes imitantibus.

sung in unison by the whole choir (*cantus choralis*); and the Gregorian chant[1] (*cantus Romanus*) was distinguished by its measured and equable but solemn flow, and by its unison, and harmonious cadences. The first singing school at Rome was also established by Gregory[2], and its influence soon extended to England and other parts of the West[3]. This reformation of the Church's music met with a zealous patron and advocate in Charlemagne[4].

Nearly about the same time with this improvement in singing (the 8th Century) the use of organs[5] was adopted in the French church from the East[6]. The first instrument of this kind in France was a present from the Greek Emperor. It was not, however, of recent invention, nor is it clearly established that the honour of it belongs to Greece[7]. Moreover, its use was not adopted in the Greek Church. In the French Church[8] the organ, however, was greatly improved, and it soon began to displace the various in-

[1] Cf. J. Antony, *Lehrbuch des Gregorianischen Kirchengesanges.* Münst. 1829. 2 Bde. 4.

[2] Scholam cantorum—we are told by Johannes Diaconus, in his *Vita Gregor. M.* II. 6—quæ hactenus eisdem institutionibus in sancta Romana ecclesia modulatur ...constituit eique cum nonnullis prædiis duo habitacula fabricavit.

[3] Augustino—it is further remarked by Joh. Diac. l. l. § 8—tunc Britannias adeunte, per occidentem quoque Romanæ institutionis cantores dispersi barbaros insigniter docuerunt.

[4] Principally through the founding of the singing school at Metz, under the management of two French clergymen trained at Rome. (Quibus—says Johannes, l. l.—tandem satis eleganter instructis Metensem metropolin ad suavitatem modulationis pristinæ revocavit, et per illam totam Galliam suam correxit).

[5] Cf. Durandi *Rationale Div. Off.* IV. 34, and V. 2; M. Gerbert, l.l. T. II. p. 137 sqq.; G. E. Müller, *Sendschreiben von Orgeln, ihrem Ursprung und Gebrauch.* Dresd. 1748; and C. W. J. Chrysander, *Historische Nachricht von Kirchenorgeln.* Rint. 1755.

[6] Pepin of France received from Constantine Copronymus the present of an organ. (Anno dominicæ incarnationis 757—say the *Annales Metenses*, in Du Chesne, *Script. rer. Franc.* T. III. p. 27—Constantinus imperator misit regi Pipino inter cetera dona organum, quod antea non visum fuerat in Francia).

[7] The glory of the invention itself is however ascribed to a saint who had heard the choral hymns of the angels.

[8] Charlemagne caused other organs to be brought from Greece. The first organ with a bellows is said to have been invented by Georgius, archbishop of Venice, at Beneventum, and set up by Lewis the Pious in the cathedral at Aix; accordingly, A.D. 872, we find the Pope, John VIII., making

struments[1] which had previously accompanied the singing[2].

2 As regards the subject-matter of the hymns, a preference was shewn by the Church in the earliest time for spiritual songs borrowed from Holy Writ. Such were as well its psalms as its hymns[3]. Subsequently it became the custom to employ the former in the *missa catechumenorum*, while the latter was reserved for the *missa fidelium*, certain psalms being selected and fixed for particular days and festivals[4]. These psalms (of which, however, it was not allowed to sing several together in succession[5]) were either sung antiphonally by the answering choirs, or else a single voice went over them, while the whole congregation joined in chorus at the cadences[6]. Among the hymns of the Church was the *Ter-Sanctus*, τρισάγιον (from Isaiah vi. 3), with the various modifications which were made of it in the course of time[7]; the Magnificat (Luke i. 46,

request for an organ and an organist to be sent him from France. He thus writes *ad Annonem, episc. Frising.* [see Mansi, xvii. 245]: Precamur, ut optimum organum cum artifice, qui hoc moderari et facere ad omnem modulationis efficaciam possit, ad instructionem musicæ disciplinæ nobis aut deferas aut cum eisdem redditibus mittas.

[1] Guitar, flute, and kettle-drums.

[2] It was not till the 14th and 15th Century that they were introduced generally into the Church, and the ultra-reforming Puritans have again expelled them.

[3] It was usual to consider as hymns, in distinction from psalms, such passages of scripture as contained οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον (Chrysost. *Hom.* ix. *in Col.*, *Opp.* T. xi. p. 392).—See moreover, and principally, C. S. Schurzfleisch, *De Hymnis Veteris Ecclesiæ.* Viteb. 1695; J. G. Walch, *De Hymnis Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ.* Jen. 1734 (in s. *Miscell. Sacr.* p. 34 sqq.); also J. C. G. Augusti, *De Antiquiss. Hymnis et Carminibus Christianorum sacris cet.* Jen. 1810.

[4] According to *Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 59, it was different for matins and for vespers. According to St Augustin, *Enarr. in Ps.* xxi., for Good Friday, Ps. xxii., u. s. w.

[5] Cf. *Concil. Laodic.* circ. 360, can. 17: περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν συνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν.

[6] The latter according to *Constitutt. Apost.* ii. 57: (ἕτερός τις τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω). Both according to Basilius M. *Epist.* ccvii.

[7] The simple form is given by *Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 12: ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.—In the 5th Century we also meet with the supplication: ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρος, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον

&c.[1]); the Song of the Three Children in the fiery furnace[2], and such like. The singing of the psalms was closed with the so-called shorter doxology (from Revel. i. 6), *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in secula seculorum.* Amen (see the full Greek form in the *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 12); or else in some of its many modifications as enlarged in opposition to the heretics[3]. With the hymns the doxology usually employed was that from Luke ii. 14[4], with many additions[5].

It was not long, however, before the Church composed hymns of its own for congregational use (see Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28[6]). Some have thought (though hardly with much reason) that they could discern traces of this in Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11. In this line of composition the Syrian Church is distinguished, not only through the Gnostics, Bardesanes and Harmonius, but also through that eminent teacher of the Church, Ephraem[7] Syrus. Moreover, we have a still earlier composer of church-hymns

ἡμᾶς· and among the Trinitarian controversies the Trisagion was constantly and in various ways adduced in the theological conflict. Cf. S. J. Baumgarten, *Historia Trisagii.* Hal. 1744.

[1] As to the use of this hymn in the Gallic Church of the 6th Century, see *Liturg. Gallicana,* p. 407.

[2] St Chrysostom, in his treatise, ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀδικ., *Opp.* T. III. p. 462, calls this hymn τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην καὶ παράδοξον ᾠδήν, τὴν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ᾀδομένην καὶ ἀσθησομένην δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς. The *Concil. Tolet.* IV. a. 633, c. 14: Hymnum trium puerorum, in quo universa cœli terræque creatura Dominum collaudat, et quem ecclesia catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat.

[3] Cf. e. g. *Concil. Vasense* II. a. 529, c. 5: Quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam propter hæreticorum astutiam, qui Dei filium non semper cum patre fuisse, sed a tempore cœpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post Gloria sicut erat in principio dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus.

[4] Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, &c.

[5] This expanded Doxology is given by the *Constitutt. Apost.* VIII. 48.

[6] Mention is made here of ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι.

[7] To oppose the heretical hymns of Bardesanes and his son, even Ephraem Syrus came forth as a poet, and composed several orthodox hymns and anthems.—Cf. J. C. G. Augusti, *De Hymnis Syrorum Sacris.* Vratisl. 1814; A. Hahn, *Bardesanes Gnosticus Syrorum primus Hymnologus.* Lips. 1819; and Ders, *Ueber den Gesang in der syrischen Kirche, im Kirchenhistorischen.* Archiv. 1823, H. 3, p. 52 ff.

in Clement of Alexandria, who is the author of a hymn still extant, and which probably was once sung in the church[1]. And since it was by the means of hymns and the beautiful music to which they were sung[2], that Arius contrived to disseminate his erroneous doctrines, many of the Fathers of the Church were stimulated to meet the evil by the composition of orthodox hymns; and the attempt was made first of all in the East[3], from whence it was adopted also by the West[4]. Subsequently to the 4th Century we find the West possessing peculiar hymns of its own[5]; and among the most eminent of the writers of such hymns we must mention Hilary of Poictiers[6], and above all St Ambrose of Milan, and his school[7]. These as well as their

[1] At the end of his *Pædagog.*

[2] See above, p. 203, n. 6.

[3] To rival the hymns of the Arians, orthodox hymns were composed by Nazianzenus and Synesius: those of the latter however were too individual, and those of the former too philosophical.

[4] Thus St Hilary, e.g. was excited to his metrical labours by the celebrity of the Arian hymns.

[5] H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive Hymnorum, Canticorum, Sequentiarum circa a. MD. usitatarum collectio ampliss.* Hal. 1841, 2 Voll.

[6] He combined in compositions the form of the ode and the hymn, and is author of the Morning Hymn, *Lucis largitor splendide.*

[7] Ambrosius further improved the form of the hymn without, however, employing rhyme, which we first meet with in Damasus. Thirty hymns are ascribed to him, and of twelve it is quite clear that they are rightly given to him. Of these is the old but simple dignified strain:

Veni redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum Virginis,
Miretur omne sæculum;
Talis decet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine,
Verbum Dei factum caro
Fructusque ventris floruit, &c.

Moreover the

Æterna Christi munera
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes ferentes debitas,
Lætis canamus mentibus.

Ecclesiarum principes,
Belli triumphales duces,
Cœlestis aulæ milites,
Et vera mundi lumina.

Terrore victo sæculi
Spretisque pœnis corporis,
Mortis sacræ compendio,
Vitam beatam possident, &c.

Some rhymes are found in

O lux beata Trinitas
Et principalis unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus,
Infunde lumen cordibus.

Te mane laudum carmine,
Te deprecamur vespere,
Te nostra supplex gloria
Per cuncta laudet sæcula.

The truly evangelical and no less simple than sublime hymn, the so-called Ambrosian Thanksgiving Hymn, *Te Deum Laudamus*, is also commonly ascribed to St Ambrose. There is, however, no mention of it in his biography by Paulinus. It is first mentioned in the *Regula Benedicti*, c. ii., and

imitators in the time of Gregory the Great, and Charlemagne[1], prepared the way for those marvellously beautiful Latin hymns of the middle ages[2], many of which, slightly

the authorship of Ambrosius is at least doubtful. By some it is ascribed to Nicetus of Treves, A.D. 535, by others to St Athanasius. See G. E. Tentzel, *De hymno Te Deum Laudamus.* Viteb. 1688; also P. Busch, *Betrachtung des Te Deum.* Hannov. 1735.

St Ambrose was followed by others, whose hymns like his own are eminent for the absence of ornament, for simplicity, truth, coupled with impressiveness; on the other hand, the Spanish hymns of the succeeding times, those especially of *Prudentius*, are characterized by a richer colouring, and a more glowing fancy; qualities which were also introduced from Spain into Italy by *Fortunatus*, circ. 600. The hymns of this school did not, however, gain admission into the Church as readily as those of St Ambrose.

[1] Gregory the Great himself composed some excellent hymns, e.g. *Rex Christe factor omnium.* The following, among others, belongs to the times of Charlemagne:

Veni, Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita cet.

[2] The following are some of the most beautiful and impressive. First of all that by the French king, Robert (ob. 1031):

Veni Sancte Spiritus
Et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium.
Veni pater pauperum,
Veni dator munerum,
Veni lumen cordium,
Consolator optime,
Dulcis hospes animæ,
Dulce refrigerium,
In labore requies,
In æstu temperies,
In fletu solatium!
* * * * * *
Flecte, quod est rigidum,
Fove, quod est frigidum,
Rege quod est devium.
Lava quod est sordidum,
Riga quod est aridum,
Sana quod est saucium cet.

Moreover the powerfully exciting hymn on the Last Judgment—

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.
Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulcra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.
Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.
Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?
Recordare Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuæ viæ,
Ne me perdas illa die cet.

composed in the 13th Century, by Thomas of Celano, a Franciscan.

Or, again, the deeply solemn and moving

Stabat mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat filius,
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam et dolentem
Pertransivit gladius.
* * * * * *
Pia mater, fons amoris,
Me sentire vim doloris
Fac, ut tecum lugeam,
Fac ut ardeat cor meum
In amando Christum Deum,
Ut sibi complaceam.
* * * * * *
Fac me tecum pie flere,
Crucifixo condolere,
Donec ego vixero,
Juxta crucem tecum stare
Et me tibi sociare
In planctu desidero cet.

by the Franciscan Jacoponus, who died 1306; and also the Christmas

recast, shine as the most precious jewels of our Lutheran[1] hymn-books[2].

Hymn, *Quem pastores laudavere cet.*, written by Adam St Victor in the 12th Century, and retained to this day in the hymn-book of the Lutheran Church.

Also the Funeral Hymn still used at high mass in the Roman Catholic Church,

Pange lingua gloriosi
Corporis mysterium
Sanguinisque pretiosi cet.,

composed by Thomas Aquinas in the 13th Century; and many others.

We may also mention the noble hymn of Hildebert of Tours, in the 12th Century, now long since almost entirely and, alas! too much forgotten. The introitus thus runs:

Extra portam jam delatum,
Jam fœtentem, tumulatum,
Vitta ligat, lapis urget;
Sed si jubes, hic resurget.
Jube, lapis revolvetur,
Jube, vitta disrumpetur,
Exiturus nescit moras,
Postquam clamas: Exi foras!

Then comes the transition to the description of the spiritual conflict within:

In hoc salo mea ratis
Infestatur a piratis:
Hinc assultus, inde fluctus,
Hinc et inde mors et luctus.
Sed tu, bone nauta, veni,
Preme ventos, mare leni cet.

Lastly, we give the whole of the second part, which runs as follows:

Totum Deus in te spero,
Deus ex te totum quæro.
Tu laus mea, meum bonum,
Mea cuncta tuum donum.
Tu solamen in labore,
Medicamen in languore,
Tu in luctu mea lyra,
Tu lenimen es in ira.
Tu in arcto liberator,
Tu in lapsu relevator;
Metum præstas in provectu,
Spem conservas in defectu.
Si quis lædit, tu rependis;
Si minatur, tu defendis;
Quod est anceps, tu dissolvis;
Quod tegendum, tu involvis.
Tu intrare me non sinas
Infernales officinas,
Ubi mœror, ubi metus,
Ubi fœtor, ubi fletus,
Ubi probra deteguntur,
Ubi rei confunduntur;
Ubi tortor semper cædens,
Ubi vermis semper edens,
Ubi totum hoc perenne,
Quia perpes mors Gehennæ.
Me receptet Sion illa,
Sion David urbs tranquilla;
Cujus faber auctor lucis,
Cujus portæ signum crucis,
Cujus claves lingua Petri,
Cujus cives semper læti,
Cujus muri lapis vivus,
Cujus custos rex festivus.
In hac urbe lux solennis,
Ver æternum, pax perennis,
In hac odor implens cœlos,
In hac semper festum melos.
Non est ibi corruptela,
Non defectus, non querela;
Non minuti, non deformes;
Omnes Christo sunt conformes.
Urbs cœlestis, urbs beata,
Supra petram collocata,
Urbs in portu satis tuto,
De longinquo te saluto.
Te saluto, te suspiro,
Te affecto, te requiro.
Quantum tui gratulentur,
Quam festive conviventur,
Quis affectus eos stringat,
Aut quæ gemma muros pingat,
Quis chalcedon, quis jacynthus:
Norunt illi, qui sunt intus.
In plateis hujus urbis,
Sociatus piis turbis,
Cum Moyse et Elia,
Pium cantem Hallelujah!

[1] In truth the Lutheran Church is, in the most beautiful sense of the term, the singing Church, κατ' ἐξοχήν.

[2] Such especially is the following famous hymn, by Bernard of Clairvaux, in the 12th Century:

When we consider the success with which the Gnostics and Arians, as well as many other heretics of the ancient Church (the Priscillianists, &c.[1]), availed themselves of cunningly-devised hymns to propagate and make known their views[2], the more justifiable appears the Church's great heed and caution in the public use of hymns, and which more than one of her canons so earnestly insisted upon (*Concil. Laodic.* [A.D. 360], can. 59[3], and *Concil. Bracarense* I. [A.D. 563], can. 12[4], &c.).

Salve caput cruentatum,
Totum spinis coronatum,
Conquassatum, vulneratum,
Arundine verberatum,
Facie sputis illita!

Salve, cujus dulcis vultus,
Immutatus et incultus,
Immutavit suum florem,
Totus versus in pallorem,
Quem cœli tremit curia!

* * * * *

Sic affectus, sic despectus,
Propter me sic interfectus,
Peccatori tam indigno
Cum amoris intersigno
Appare clara facie.

In hac tua passione
Me agnosce, pastor bone,
Cujus sumpsi mel ex ore,
Haustum lactis cum dulcore,
Præ omnibus deliciis.

Non me reum asperneris,
Nec indignum dedigneris cet.

* * * *

Dum me mori est necesse,
Noli mihi nunc deesse;
In tremenda mortis hora
Veni Jesu absque mora,
Tuere me et libera.

Cum me jubes emigrare,
Jesu care, tunc appare;
O amator amplectende,
Temetipsum tunc ostende
In cruce salutifera!

[1] On the hymns of the Priscillianists, cf. Augustin, *Epist.* ccxxxvii., who, however, also composed a hymn himself against the Donatists (*Psalmus contra partes Donati, Opp.* T. IX. p. 1 sqq.; cf. also Augustin, *Retractt.* I. 20).

[2] Cf. E. S. Cyprian, *De Propagatione Hæresium per Cantilenas.* Cob. 1708 (in his *Dissertatt. Var. Argum.* p. 121 sqq.)

[3] "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

[4] Ut extra psalmos vel canonicarum scripturarum Novi et V. T. nihil poëtice compositum in ecclesia psallatur—a regulation, which however, *Concil. Tolet.* IV. a. 633, can. 13, afterwards explained and modified as by no means prohibiting church-hymns composed expressly for the purpose of public worship—(quia nonnulli hymni humano studio compositi esse noscuntur in honorem Dei et apostolorum ac martyrum triumphos, sicut hi, quos beatiss. doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt...Sicut ergo orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos nullus vestrum ulterius improbet!).

Sect. XXX.—THE LESSONS. PREACHING. PRAYER.

1 The reading of Scripture, ἀνάγνωσις, *lectio*[1], formed from the very first a principal, and indeed fundamental part of the public worship of the Christians, as it had of old in that of the Jews[2]. At first the lessons (sometimes longer, sometimes shorter) were, as we should naturally expect, taken exclusively from the Old Testament alone[3]; afterwards (and as early as in the time of Justin Martyr—see his *Apolog.* i. c. 67[4], compared with *Constitutt. Apostol.* ii. 59[5], and Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* ii. 27. 2[6]) they were *also* taken from the New Testament, and principally from the Gospels and Epistles. It is true that many other writings besides the sacred Scriptures were read in the ancient Church (*e.g.* The Shepherd of Hermas, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3[7], the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 16[8]); but still they were very far from being thereby placed on an equality, or made coordinate with the canonical Scriptures, and least of all in the primitive times of Christianity[9]. Besides, this later practice of reading

[1] Cf. G. E. Tentzel, *De Ritu Lectionum Sacrar.* Viteb. 1685; J. A. Schmid, *De Lectionariis Occ. et Orient. Ecclesiæ.* Helmst. 1703; J. H. Thamer, *De Origine et Dignit. Pericoparum.* Jen. 1716, 1734; J. E. Caspari, *Sur les Péricopes.* Strasb. 1833.

[2] To facilitate the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Pentateuch had been divided into Paraschioth, and the collection of the Prophets partly, at least, into Haphtarim.

[3] It formed indeed, for Christ Himself, for the Apostles, and for the first Christians, the *only* written code of divine revelation.

[4] Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μεχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.

[5] On the Lord's day there was usually προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυκία. A little before, chap. lvii., the several scriptures he had mentioned, the several writings which formed the matter of this anagnosis, and among those of the New Testament, the Acts, the Epistles of St Paul, and the four Gospels, are especially mentioned.

[6] In this passage Irenæus, in refutation of the Gnostics, appeals simply to universæ scripturæ, et prophetiæ et evangelia (this is the reading of *Cod. Claromontanus;* while others read, et prophetica et evangelica sc. γράμματα).

[7] Ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἰσμὲν αὐτὸ (the βιβλίον of Hermas) δεδημοσιευμένον.

[8] Ταύτην καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν.

[9] The contrary double assumption of Rheinwald, *Archäologie,*

uncanonical writings, as well as the canonical, was prohibited by several canons of the Church (cf. *Concil. Laodic.* [A.D. 360], can. 59[1], and *Concil. Hipponense* [A.D. 393], can. 36[2]), though in truth there does not seem to have been much anxiety rigorously to enforce the prohibition[3].

At first a lesson was taken arbitrarily from any part of Scripture (see Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. 39[4]), afterwards a selection was made of certain books or passages for the yearly festivals, and their attendant cycles, which, however, were not the same in every Church. Thus in the Syrian Church, the Acts of the Apostles were read during Whitsuntide (Chrysost. *Homil. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur*, *Opp.* T. III. p. 86), but in Spain and France the

p. 273, has been fully refuted by H. W. J. Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des Historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der Neutestamentlichen Schriften*. Erl. 1845, p. 371 ff., by pointing out the firm and universal conviction which prevailed as to the limits of the Canon which speaks out so distinctly in Origen, in Eusebius, and all later writers, and by shewing how natural it was that a body of *βιβλία ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, which however were not *ἐνδιάθηκα*, should be formed, both because of the otherwise relative value of their contents; and because the memorials of the martyrs which they contained were suitable to be read on their yearly commemorations; and lastly, by appealing to the general character of primeval Christianity. (And it is moreover quite certain that Athanasius, e. g. *Epist. Festalis*, *Opp.* T. I. p. 961, does distinguish between *βιβλία κανονιζόμενα* and *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, and that this father also speaks in the same way in his *Synopsis Scripturæ s.* *Opp.* II. 126, of *οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ*, and that of these *ἀναγινωσκόμενα* [called by him libri ecclesiastici, to distinguish them from the canonici], Rufinus, in his *Exposit. in Symbolum Apost.* says: Legi quidem in ecclesia voluerunt [patres], non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam,—not to speak of Eusebius in his canon, and many others).

[1] *Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.*

[2] Ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. And then follows an enumeration of the canonicæ scripturæ. This canon was afterwards confirmed by the council of Carthage, A. D. 397, as well as by an *epistola* of the Roman bishop, Innocentius I. in the beginning of the 5th Century (Mansi, III. 1040), and by a Roman council under Gelasius I., A.D. 494 (Mansi, VIII. 146).

[3] Even the already-quoted *canon Hipponensis* makes the further addition: Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

[4] Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere.

Book of Revelations (*Concil. Tolet.* IV. c. 17[1]); while during the Quadragesimal or Lenten Fast, the Book of Genesis was read in Syria, as also in Constantinople (Chrysostom, *Homil. de Statuis*, and *in Genesin*), but Job and Jonah in Milan (Ambros. *Epist.* xxix.[2]). In Africa the lesson for Good Friday was the history of the Passion according to St Matthew, and that for Easter Sunday St Matthew's history of the Resurrection, while those for the three following days were the histories of the same event by St Mark, St Luke, and St John, respectively (St Augustin, *Sermo* ccxxxii.[3] &c.). By the end of the 2nd Century fixed tables of lessons for the Festivals had been adopted in many parts (Augustin, l. l. and *Præfat. in Exposit.* I *Ep. Joh.*[4], and also St Chrysostom, *Homil.* x. *in*

[1] Si quis apocalypsin a pascha usque ad pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.

[2] Audistis librum Job legi, qui solemni munere est decursus et tempore...Sequenti die lectus est de more liber Jonæ.

[3] Resurrectio Domini nostri J. Chr.—says St Augustin in this sermon, *Feria Tertia Paschali*—et hodie recitata est, sed de altero libro evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum, hesterno autem die sec. Marcum, hodie sec. Lucam. [*Sermo* CCXLV. *in Dieb. Pasch.*, and then mentions also the recitation of St John's narrative of this event.]...Sicut enim passio ipsius ab omnibus evangelistis conscripta est, sic dies isti septem vel octo dant spatium, ut secundum omnes evangelistas resurrectio Domini recitetur. Passio autem, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthæum.

[4] Volueram aliquando—St Augustin proceeds (immediately after the passage about the Lessons for Easter and Good Friday, which we quoted in the previous note; and while the additional remarks testify to the fact that these festivals were well observed, we cannot but see in the pluperfect *volueram*, a proof of St Augustin's pastoral wisdom),—ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur; factum est, non audierunt homines quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt. And again, there is a similar, if not still more precise testimony to the regularly established succession of these festivals, in the following passage, *Præf. in* I *Joh.*: Meminit sanctitas vestra, evangelium secundum Johannem ex ordine lectionum nos solere tractare. Sed quia nunc interposita est sollemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint: ordo ille, quem susceperamus, necessitate paullulum intermissa est. —But at the same time, St Augustin admits that on other days than festivals he had allowed himself full liberty in the choice of lessons. So *Sermo* CCCLXII.: In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex evangelio et apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones.

Jud.) It is not, however, till the middle of the 5th Century that we meet with a collection of these lessons, and it is from Gaul that we derive the earliest instance[1] of the kind; the oldest Lectionary being the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*[2]. On the other hand, the so-called *Comes, liber comitis, sive lectionarius per circulum anni*, which has been ascribed to St Jerome as its author[3], is assuredly (in its present form at least) the work of a much later period. In all probability it belongs to the 8th or 9th Century. That division of the Sacred Text which in the Roman Church[4] had been in use from the 6th Century, was in the 8th introduced also into the Gallican by means of the *Homilarium* which Paul the Deacon drew up at the command of Charlemagne; and owing to this circumstance, as well as to its own intrinsic merits—the judicious adjustment of each Epistle and Gospel, and the consistent whole they form together[5], it soon gained universal approbation[6].

Lastly, as regards the mode of reading it, the lesson was generally read by the lector[7] from the *ambo*[8]. In some places, though not in all (*Concil. Hippon.* A.D. 393, can. 1[9]), he began with greeting the people with the blessing, *Pax vobis*[10], to which they replied, *Et cum spiritu tuo*[11]. Upon this, and after an exhortation from the deacon

[1] Thus, circ. 450, Claudianus Mamertus in Vienne solemnibus annuis paravit, quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent (according to Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* IV. 11); and contemporaneously, Mussæus of Marseilles hortatu S. Venerii episcopi excerpsit de s. scripturis lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas (according to Gennadius, *De Scriptorib. Eccles.* c. LXXIX.).

[2] See the same in Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, p. 106 sqq.

[3] Consequently to be found also in Vallars, *Opp. Hieron.* T. XI. p. 526.

[4] Cf. quæ diebus certis in hac ecclesia legi ex more solent, in Gregorii M. *Præfat. ad XL. Homill. in Evangelia.*

[5] See what we have remarked at the end of § 26, p. 178.

[6] So also in modern times it is only the ultra-reforming party that, with the old order of the ecclesiastical year, has rejected the ancient order of the Lessons—a procedure which can never be justified unless the ancient order had been adverse to the true Gospel liberty.

[7] On his office, see above, § 14.

[8] Cf. Cypr. *Epist.* XXXIII., with *Constitutt. Apost.* II. 57.

[9] Ut lectores populum non salutent.

[10] Cf. Cypr. l. l.: Auspicatus est (lector) pacem, dum dedicat lectionem.

[11] Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.—Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

to give heed to what was about to be read (Chrysostom, *Homil.* xix. *in Acta Apost.*[1]), the reader began. Between the several lessons it was usual to sing a psalm[2]. The most solemn of all the lessons were those taken from the Gospels; and which, it is probable, were almost always read by a deacon[3], the whole congregation standing[4], and, in the East, candles burning the while, which, in token of their holy joy, it was customary to light at the moment the reading of the Gospel commenced (St Jerome, *contra Vigilant.* c. viii.[5]).

2 Preaching[6].

Following the analogy of the Jewish Synagogue (Luke vi. 20, Acts xiii. 15), the reading of the lessons in the Christian Church was generally followed by an exposition of Scripture, the subject of the discourse (which was generally short and plain, and, for the most part, of a practical nature) being generally suggested by the lessons previously read (see Justin M. *Apolog.* i. 67[7], compared with Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. xxxix.[8]). In the Greek Church, however, this

[1] Ὁ διάκονος μέγα βοῶν καὶ λέγων· προσσχώμεν, καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις. Μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Cf. *Concil. Laodic.* can. 17 (above, § 29, p. 206, n. 2).

[3] See above, § 13, p. 52, n. 7.

[4] Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας. On these occasions Cæsarius, Bp of Arles, *Sermo* cec. *in August. Append.*, who was far from unduly estimating such merely external things, readily allows of sitting in the case of old age, weakness, or frailty: Propter eos, qui aut pedibus dolent aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate sollicitus consilium dedi et quodammodo supplicavi, ut, quando aut passiones prolixæ aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes attentis auribus audiant.

[5] Per totas orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria jam sole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum.

[6] Cf. F. B. Ferrarius, *De Veterum Christianorum Concionibus*, lib. III. Mediol. 1621, Par. 1664, Ultraj. 1692, Ven. 1731; J. Hildebrand, *Exercit. De Veterum Concionibus.* Helmst. 1661; M. G. Hansch, *Abbildung der Predigten im ersten Christenthum.* Frankf. a. M. 1725; and E. Leopold, *Das Predigtamt im Urchristenth.* Lüneb. 1846.

[7] Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τούτων καλῶν μιμήσεως ποιεῖται.

[8] Immediately after the words [quoted above, p. 213, n. 4] relating to the reading of Scripture, Tertullian goes on to observe: Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pas-

exposition—under the title of ὁμιλία, *sermo tractatus*—soon assumed a wider range, and, influenced by the models of the rhetorical schools, adopted a more learned and artificial tone[1]. The West, on the contrary (and particularly the Roman Church), where apparently preaching was regarded as a less important element of public worship, long maintained greater brevity and simplicity[2].

The sermon was delivered either from the bishop's cathedra (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 16[3]), or from the altar steps (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xvi. v. 124 sqq.[4])—the bishop occasionally coming forward to the *cancelli*—or even (for the sake of being better heard) from the *ambo* (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 5[5]), and at a later date from the so-called chancel[6]. After the preacher, as recommended by St Augustin (*de Doctrina Christ.* iv. 15[7]), had first prayed in silence, he offered up a prayer for peace, or some other blessing, addressed to the congregation, which was returned by the latter (St Chrysostom, *Homil.* iii. *in Col.*[8]). The sermon, 'in the earliest times

cimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus; ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et divina censura.

[1] The Greek Church is chiefly treated of in H. Th. Tzschirner, *De Claris Veteris Eccl. Oratoribus Comm.* I. Lips. 1817. 4.

[2] Hence arose the exaggerated statement, with regard to the Roman Church, in Sozomenus, *H. E.* VII. 19: Οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. Whilst, however, Leo the Great, *Sermo* xxxii. *in Epiph.* III. § 1, speaks of the festivitas quam secundum consuetudinem evangelicus vobis sermo reseraverit.

[3] The multitude, we are told by Socrates, were very eager to ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν, i.e. Chrysostom, καθήμενον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ ποθοῦντες καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι...Καθίσας ὁ Ἰωάννης εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν θρόνον...ἐδίδαξεν.

[4] Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ
Concionaturum plebs sedula circumsistit,
are his words, speaking of Faustus, Bishop of Rhegium.

[5] St Chrysostom, we are assured by Socrates, had so preached on grand occasions (it was therefore an exception, and not the rule), καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ὅθεν εἰώθει καὶ πρότερον ὁμιλεῖν χάριν τοῦ ἐξακούεσθαι.

[6] This custom naturally arose, at last, from the bishop's seat being moved forward in the bema to the chancel-screen. See above, § 20, p. 104, n. 4.

[7] Orando pro se ac pro illis, quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor. Ipsa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat.

[8] "Οταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εὐθέως λέγει· εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, εἰρήνη πᾶσι κ.τ.λ.

no doubt an unpremeditated effusion, and the more so the nearer the times were to the original simplicity of the Gospel, when the memory of the free manifestation of the *Charismata* had not as yet died entirely away[1],' was in later times either the filling up of a previously well-meditated sketch, or was even delivered *memoriter* in full (see Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 2[2]). Extemporary discourses, as being in general prejudicial to the literary character of the discourse, and on the other hand, the reading of sermons as being too constrained and artificial, formed exceptions to the general practice. Instances of the former are recorded of Origen (Pamphilus, *Apol.* l. i., *Opp. Orig.* T. iv. p. 19 sqq.[3]), and occasionally also of St Chrysostom (see his homily *περὶ ἐλεεμοσύνης*, and *in Gen.* iv. *Opp.* T. iii. p. 248, and iv. 662), and also of St Augustin (Augustin, *Sermo* ccclii.[4] and *Enarrat. in Psalm.* cxxxviii.[5], compared with Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, iii.[6]). Instances of the latter are spoken of in the time of Gregory the Great (*Homil.* xxi. *in Evv.*[7]);

[1] Thiersch, *ibid.* s. 374.

[2] Socrates here states of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, that when he was presbyter he *ἐκμαθὼν οὓς καὶ ἐπόνει λόγους ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐδίδαξεν.*

[3] Tractatus...pæne quotidie in ecclesia habebat ex tempore (quos, adds Pamphilus, et describentes notarii ad monumentum posteritatis tradebant).

[4] He here says, after having read the passage, Ps. li. 11: Cum sermonem ad vestram caritatem non præpararemus, hinc nobis esse tractandum Domino imperante cognovimus...Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus, sed quod ille censuit vobis esse utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit.

[5] He here remarks that lector ad horam quantum videtur perturbatus alterum pro altero psalmo legit, and then proceeds to say: Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.

[6] Possidonius relates how St Augustin had said to a clergyman, Advertistis hodie in ecclesia meum sermonem ejusque initium et finem contra meam consuetudinem processisse, quoniam non eam rem terminatam explicuerim, quam proposueram. While treating of his proposed subject he had come upon another very important topic, unde nihil dicere decreveram disputans cet.

[7] He here says: Multis vobis lectionibus per dictatum loqui consuevi; sed quia lacescente stomacho ea quæ dictavero legere ipse non possum, quosdam vestrum minus libenter audientes intueor. And yet the same Gregory, in another place, *Homm. in Ezechiel.* ii. 7, confesses that during the actual preaching he had often come to a better understanding and knowledge of many matters [Plerumque multa in sacro elogio, quæ solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus meis positus intellexi]; which however may pos-

and cases are also recorded of eminent teachers causing their own sermons to be read by others, while others again openly adopted and recited in the Church the sermons of such distinguished preachers[1].

In the case of famous preachers it was customary for their sermons to be taken down upon delivery (see Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 36, who records this practice in the case of Origen[2], and Gregory the Great, *Præfat. in Ezech.* and *ad Homil.* xl. *in Evv.*, who mentions it in his own case[3]), and not less customary was it, in spite of the remonstrances of the most sensible and influential Bishops, for the people to signify their approbation by applause, κρότος[4] (see Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30[5]; Chrysost. *Homil.* xxx. *in Acta Apost.* and *Homil.* xvii. *in Matth.*[6]; St Augustin, *Sermo* lxi. § 13[7]).

sibly allude to some freer mode of preaching.

[1] Thus St Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* c. 115, tells us that Ephraem Syrus was so famous a preacher, ut post lectionem scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur; and that Gregory the Great had some of his homily read aloud by the notarii, is plain from *Prolog. ad* XL. *Homill. in Evv.* (Quarundam quidem [of some of these Homilies] dictata expositio assistente plebe est per notarium recitata, quarundam vero explanationem coram populo ipse locutus sum).

[2] Origen, however, is the first preacher whose sermons thus taken down are still extant.

[3] In the latter passage, which is a continuation of that quoted in note 1, Gregory says: Ita ut loquebar excepta est; and to the same effect he also says in the former: (ita, ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt....Sed post annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum schedas requirere studui cet.)

[4] Cf. F. B. Ferrarius, *De Veterum Acclamationibus et Plausu.* Mediol. 1620.

[5] He mentions with disapprobation the pleasure which Paul of Samosata took in such demonstrations.

[6] In the former passage he speaks of the annoyance of many clergymen, κἂν μὲν κρότων τύχωσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, and confesses himself: ἐπειδὰν λέγων κροτῶμαι, παρ' αὐτὸν μὲν καιρὸν ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάσχω, and then expresses the deeper sorrow at this indulgence of vanity in such holy places: (ὑπὸ τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀπολωλεκότας ὀδυνῶμαι καὶ στένω καὶ δακρύω, κ.τ.λ.), and in the other passages with befitting earnestness insists: οὐδὲ γὰρ θέατρόν ἐστι τὰ παρόντα, οὐ τραγῳδοὺς κάθησθε θεώμενοι νῦν, ἵνα κροτῆτε μόνον· διδασκαλεῖόν ἐστι τὰ ἐνταῦθα πνευματικόν· διὸ καὶ τὸ σπουδαζόμενόν ἐστι ἓν, ὥστε κατορθῶσαι τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ὑπακοήν, κ.τ.λ.

[7] Audistis, laudastis; Deo gratias. Semen accepistis, verba reddidistis. Laudes istæ vestræ gravant nos potius et in periculum

3 Prayer[1].

The sermon was followed by prayer as the *answer of the congregation* to the Word imparted and explained to them (Justin, *Apol.* i. c. 67[2]). Before it commenced the non-Christians and the first class of the catechumens departed (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 5[3]). Then the deacon, upon his prayers being asked for by the rest of the catechumens, offered up an earnest prayer for them overflowing with Christian love (cf. Chrysost. *Homil.* ii. *in* 2 *Corr.*[4], and *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 6[5]), that God would open

mittunt; toleramus illas et tremimus inter illas. Tamen, fratres mei, istæ laudes vestræ folia sunt arborum; fructus quæritur.

[1] On this subject in general consult J. Hildebrand, *Rituale Orantium, seu compendium veterum orandi rituum cet.* Helmst. 1656; Dess. *Sacrarum Antiquitatum de Precibus Veterum Christianor. libellus. ib.* 1665, ed. 2, 1701; and L. Hoornbeck, *De Precibus Ecclesiast.*, in his *Miscell. Sacra*, p. 286 sqq. On particular details, with regard to the prayers of the ancient Churches, Hoornbeck, *De Stationibus Veterum, ib.* p. 606 sqq.; J. M. Cladenius, *De Stationibus Vett. Christ.* Lips. 1744; J. Thomasius, *De Ritu Vett. Christianor. Precandi versus Orientem.* Lips. 1670; A. Rechenberg, *De Elevationem Manuum inter Precand.* Lips. 1688; A. W. Hübner, *De Genuflexione.* Hal. 1711.

[2] Ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.

[3] Πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ (ἐπισκόπου) τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον,...ὁ διάκονος...κερυττέτω· μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

[4] ...ἵνα μέλη γένωνται σὰ, ἵνα μὴ ἔτι ὦσι ξένοι καὶ ἠλλοτριωμένοι·...ἵνα ὁ πανελεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν· ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν, ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα αὐτοῖς δοίη νοῦν ἔνθεον, σώφρονα λογισμὸν καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν, διαπαντὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μελετᾶν, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι·...ἵνα ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτόπου πράγματος διαβολικοῦ καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκετίας, τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἵνα αὐξήσας εὐλογήσῃ καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ· ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον...Εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν (οἱ κατηχούμενοι) αἰτήσασθε, χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη, ἑαυτοὺς τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι.

[5] ...ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς φιλάνθρωπος (ὁ Θεὸς) εὐμενῶς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρα-

their ears, inspire them with a wholesome fear, confirm their hearts in faith, render them in due time worthy of the laver of regeneration, and make them members of Himself, &c. This prayer was followed by another shorter one from the bishop himself, concluding with the episcopal blessing (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 6). During the intervals, the congregation (especially the children[1]) broke in either with a Κύριε ἐλέησον (*Constitutt. Apostol. ibid.*), or with the singing of psalms, especially the 42nd Ps. ver. 2[2] (see St Augustin, *Enarr. in Ps.* xli. [xlii.][3]). After these prayers the catechumens were dismissed[4] (for the prayer for a third class of catechumens in the *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 8, was probably not long in use). After their dismissal prayers no less earnest, powerful, and deeply-moving were offered by the deacon and by the bishop in behalf of the possessed (*ἐνεργούμενοι*), that He who had bound *the strong man* would also deliver His creatures the work of His hand from the power of the enemy, &c. (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 7[5], compared

κλήσεων, καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν καὶ δῷ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ συνετίσῃ, παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς τὴν θεογνωσίαν, διδάξῃ αὐτοὺς τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα ἐγκαταφυτεύσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγνὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον φόβον, διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, βεβαιώσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐνώσῃ καὶ ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ, καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς, ῥύσηται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσεβείας, καὶ μὴ δῷ τόπον τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ κατ' αὐτῶν, καθαρίσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐνοικήσῃ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ περικείμενα εἰς τὸ συμφέρον...ἵνα ἀφέσεως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμελημάτων διὰ τῆς μυήσεως, ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων διαμονῆς, κ.τ.λ.

[1] Καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδία.

[2] As the hind panteth for the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after God.

[3] Et quidem non male intelligitur vox esse eorum, qui, cum sint catechumeni, ad gratiam sancti lavacri festinant. Unde et solenniter cantatur hic psalmus, ut ita desiderent fontem remissionis peccatorum, quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum.

[4] See also *Concil. Laodic.* can. 19: περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι.

[5] ...ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς

with Chrysostom, *Homil.* xviii. *in* 2 *Corr.*[1]). And then, when these had left the Church, intercession was made for the *Pœnitentes*, that He who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but had given His own Son to die for all, would again grant to them—since no one is pure in his sight—penitence and faith, &c. (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 9[2], com-

διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥύσηται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱκέτας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας· ὁ ἐπιτιμήσας τῷ λεγεῶνι τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τῷ ἀρχεκάκῳ διαβόλῳ ἐπιτιμήσῃ αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ ῥύσηται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθαρίσῃ αὐτά, ἃ μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας ἐποίησεν.... Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου. The following is the prayer for deacons:—Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπευχέσθω λέγων· Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δείσας καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν δεσμώτην παραδοὺς ἡμῖν ὡς στρουθίον παιδίοις, ὃν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν, οὐ τοπικῷ ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἑκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακόνοιαν, οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβύσσους καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν αἰνεῖ τὰ νήπια καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὰ θηλάζοντα, ὃν ὑμνοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι, ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν, ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται, ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσην καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξηρημῶν, οὗ νεφέλαι κονιορτὸς τῶν ποδῶν, ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους· μονογενὴς Θεὸς, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱὲ, ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας· ὅτι σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τῷ σῷ Πατρὶ, ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[1] He here distinctly mentions at least the prayer for the Energumeni (who are not noticed in the above-quoted *Canon Laodicen.*), and tells us that its place was just before that for the *Pœnitentes*.

[2] ...ὅπως ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεὸς ὑποδείξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας, προσδέξηται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινῳδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, καὶ συντρίψῃ τὸν σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, καὶ λυτρώσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθεμίτου λόγου καὶ πάσης ἀτόπου πράξεως καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐννοίας, συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν τά τε ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν χειρόγραφον καὶ ἐγγράψηται αὐτοὺς ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς, καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἑνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ποίμνην, ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν. Ὅτι τίς καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν; ἢ τίς παῤῥησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; πάντες γάρ ἐσμεν ἐν ἐπιτιμίοις. Ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν, ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι, ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθέμιτον προσοικειωθῶσι πάσῃ πράξει ἀγαθῇ, ἵνα ὁ φιλάνθρωπος

pared with Chrysostom, *Homil.* xviii. *in* 2 *Corr.*, and *Concil. Laodic.* can. xix.) However the whole of this order of prayers for particular classes between the sermon and the *missa fidelium* cannot demonstratively be shewn to have existed any where except in the Eastern Church. For from the merely general expressions of St Augustin in his *Sermo* cexix.[1] it cannot be inferred that the same practice held also in the Western.

With this the *missa catechumenorum* closed, and the rest of the Church's prayers in the *missa fidelium* were connected with the administration of the Holy Communion; on which see § 32[2].

Θεὸς ᾧ τάχος εὐμενῶς προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι· κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, ἵνα ἄξιοι ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἱοθεσίας καύχωσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἴπωμεν· Κύριε ἐλέησον, σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἀνάστησον τῷ ἐλέει σου. The following is the prayer for deacons:—Ἐπευχέσθω οὖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοιάδε· Παντοκράτορ Θεὲ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμου κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δοὺς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτὸν...καὶ ἁμαρτόντι ὑποθήκην δοὺς πρὸς μετάνοιαν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα· ἐπίδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλικότας σοι αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλῃ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ ζῆν. Ὁ Νινευῖτῶν προσδεξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· ὁ τὸν υἱὸν προσδεξάμενος, τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀσώτως, πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πρόσδεξαι τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τὴν μετάγνωσιν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεταί σοι, ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε Κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται; ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμός ἐστι· καὶ ἀποκατάστησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· ὅι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[1] Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis, manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis cet.

[2] Baptism, although for the most part distinct from, yet in many respects is connected both with the *missa catechumenorum*, and also with the *missa fidelium*. It is, however, rather as following that it is connected with the former, while to the latter it belongs in an important sense, as forming a decided and sacramental part of the μυστήρια, which were withheld from the unbeliever, and peculiar to the faithful alone. The consideration, therefore, of baptism, will properly come before them.

Sect. XXXI.—BAPTISM.

Cf. J. Vicecomes, *De Antiquis Baptismi Ritibus*, T. I. Mediol. 1615; F. U. Calixtus, *De Antiquis circa Baptismum Ritibus.* Helmst. 1650; A. C. Schubert, *De Ritib. Eccl. Primitivæ Baptismalibus.* Jen. 1674; A. van Dale, *Historia Baptismorum Hebraicor. et Christianor.* Amst. 1705; J. Hildebrand, *Rituale Baptismi Vet.* Helmst. 1711, ed. 2, 1736; J. G. Walch, *De Ritibus Baptismal. seculi II.* Jen. 1749; F. Brenner, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe, von Christo bis auf unsere Zeiten.* Bamb. 1818; especially J. W. H. Höfling, *Das Sacrament der Taufe nebst den anderen damit zusammenhängenden Akten der Initiation, Dogmatisch, Historisch, Liturgisch Dargestellt.* Bd. I. in 2 Lieferungen. Erlang. 1846. (An exposition of the Catechetical institutions of the Church and of the Baptism of Converts, and also of the doctrines involved therein, founded on historical and liturgical documents.)

On the authority of the Divine Word and of His Holy Apostles, the ancient Church regarded Baptism (as the Sacrament which begins or *lays the foundation* of the Christian *life*) and Regeneration as inseparable from it, and for this reason was the Church profoundly earnest, not only in its preparations for Baptism, but also in its administration of the rite itself.

1 The more sensible the ancient Church was of the fact, that merely nominal Christians intruded themselves but too often into the communion of the Church, the more seriously did it occupy itself with the catechumenate[1], or the duty of *preparing* the adult candidates for Baptism.

From the beginning of the 2nd Century, such as sought to be incorporated into the Church by baptism received under the title of κατηχούμενοι (Tertullian[2] calls them *audientes*) preliminary instruction from a teacher expressly appointed for the purpose[3]. In Origen's time (*contra Cels.* iii. p. 142), it had already become the practice to divide them into two classes, but subsequently to the 4th Century

[1] It is in this sense that the word was used by the ancient Church. It is only in later times that it has been applied to the preparing, not indeed for baptism, but for that repetition and confirmation of the baptismal vow by *confirmation*, in the case of those who had received infant baptism. —See moreover, T. Pfanner, *De Catechumenis Antiquæ Ecclesiæ.* Frcf. 1628.

[2] Novitioli, qui incipiunt divinis sermonibus aures rigare—as he loosely describes the 'Audientes.' *De Pœnit.* c. vi.

[3] See above, § 15, p. 72.

they were arranged in three: 1st, that of the *audientes* or ἀκροώμενοι, properly so called, which consisted of those who had but just been admitted into the number of candidates; 2d, that of the κατηχούμενοι, the catechumens proper, called also *genuflectentes*; and, 3d, that of those prepared for baptism, the *competentes* (sc. *baptismum*[1]), or the φωτιζόμενοι. The whole period of their catechetical probation lasted two years, according to the 42d can. of the *Concil. Eliberit.* (A.D. 305[2]), but according to *Constitut. Apost.* viii. 32[3], the regular period was three years, which, however, in the case of peculiar fitness might be shortened.

From the very earliest times the candidates sought, by prayer and fasting, rightly to prepare themselves for baptism (see Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 61[4], and Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, c. xx.[5]). Upon their admission to the rank of *competentes*, they were required solemnly to pronounce (placing their hands the while in the bishop's) a renunciation of the devil, and all his works[6] (Tertull. *de Corona Mil.* c. iii.[7]). To this was added, not much later certainly than the 3rd Century, the formula of exorcism, which had previously been long in use in the case of *energumeni*, or possessed (*exorcismus*[8]), of which the earliest distinct trace is to be found in the *Concil. Carthagin.* [A.D. 256[9]], or even still earlier

[1] Quid enim aliud sunt Competentes, quam simul petentes? Scilicet regnum cœlorum.—Aug. *Sermo* cxvi. *ad Competentes.*

[2] Eos qui ad fidem primam credulitatis accedunt, si bonæ fuerint conversationis, intra biennium placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti debere.

[3] Ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι, τρία ἔτη κατηχείσθω· εἰ δὲ σπουδαῖός τις ᾖ καὶ εὔνοιαν ἔχει περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, προσδεχέσθω, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται.

[4] The candidates for baptism are here indicated as εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκοντες.

[5] Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris, jejuniis et geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum.

[6] Cf. M. Chladenius, *De Abrenuntiatione Baptismali.* Viteb. 1715.

[7] Aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus.

[8] Cf. Hœcker, *De Origine Exorcismi in Baptismo.* Jen. 1735; Wernsdorf, *De Vera Ratione Exorcismorum Veteris Eccl.* Viteb. 1749; Kraft, *Ausführliche Historie vom Exorcismo.* Hamb. 1750.

[9] After that Cyprian himself, *Epist.* LXXVI., had distinctly enough advanced the idea of exorcism: (Spi-

in the διδασκαλία ἀνατολική[1] of Clem. Alex. *Opp.* T. II. p. 988[2].

A solemn examination, *scrutinium*, of the competentes (see St Augustin, *de Fide et Oper.* c. vi.[3]) was required, to satisfy the Church of their fitness. Such as passed it satisfactorily entered the number of the *electi* (Leo M. *Epist.* xvi. § 5). The following symbolical practices (which do not occur until after the 4th Century, and which belonged to the initiatory period of preparation), veiling the head[4], breathing into the nostrils[5] (in allusion to the gift of the Holy Ghost), the touching of the ears, *sacramentum apertionis* (in reference to the *Ephphatha* of our Lord[6]), signing with the sign of the cross on the forehead and the breast, and the giving of salt (as the *sacramentum catechumenorum*, and founded on the Lord's words, *Have salt in yourselves*[7]), are of a subordinate importance. The whole essential course of this Catechumenate (which however in different Churches,

ritus nequam permanere ultro non possunt in hominis corpore, in quo baptizato et sanctificato incipit Spiritus Sanctus habitare); and indeed essentially even Barnabas, *Epist.* c. xvi.: (πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν...οἶκος δαιμόνων).

[1] The baptismal water in this passage is called τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐξορκιζόμενον.

[2] The Lutheran Church as well as the Roman has retained the rite of exorcism (and indeed immediately associated with that of baptism), though not as a real expulsion of the devil (which indeed is positively effected by baptism itself), but as seeing in this solemn renunciation of Satan, a sign and a testimonial that those who through the laver of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, enter the kingdom of Christ, are thereby at the same time emancipated from the power of Satan. And in retaining this rite, the Lutheran Church has but followed ancient tradition, not without warrant from Scripture. Eph. ii. 2.

[3] Suis nominibus datis abstinentia, jejuniis exorcismisque purgantur, ipsis diebus, quibus catechizantur, exorcisantur, scrutantur.

[4] Revelanda sunt capita, quod est indicium libertatis; habet enim libertatem ista spiritalis nativitas, proprie autem carnis nativitas servitutem; is the explanation of Augustinus, *Sermo* CCCLXXVI.—Cf. moreover, especially in reference to this point, C. G. Schwartz, *De Cærimoniis et Formulis a Veterum Manumissione ad Baptismum Translatis.* 1738.

[5] Cf. Cyril Hieros. *Procatech.* § 9.

[6] Aperite aures,...quod vobis significavimus, cum apertionis celebrantes mysterium diceremus Ephata.—Ambrosius, *De Myster.* c. i.

[7] Signabar jam signo crucis ejus et condiebar ejus sale.—Augustin, *Confess.* I. 11.

and at different periods, may naturally have varied, both in the arrangement and the succession of its parts) is compendiously given in an Epistle of Ferrandus, of the 6th Century. *Epist. ad Fulgent. Ruspensem* (in Gallandi *Bibl. PP.* XI. p. 319[1]).

At a very early date the candidates who had been pronounced fit for baptism were required to make a public *profession of faith*[2] (see 1 Tim. vi. 12, Acts viii. 37, and 1 Tim. iii. 16, compared with Tertullian, *de Resurrect.* c. XLVIII.[3]; for other passages, see nr. 2, p. 230), the simplest and shortest form of which is given in the formula for Baptism in Matt. xxviii. 19. Not long after its promulgation, however, it was somewhat expanded and explained in each of its three articles, in order to meet the requirements, and to suit the character of a professing Church. In this manner the *Symbolum Apostolicum*[4] came into existence—that historical compendium of the whole Christian revelation, the summary of the most essential points of the Christian doctrine as delivered by the Apostles, both as regards facts and doctrines[5]. Many copies of this *Symbolum* have come down to us from the very earliest times, and essentially they all agree, notwithstanding some discrepancies and variations in form[6]. Still there does not

[1] Fit ex more Catechumenus; post aliquantum nihilominus temporis propinquante solemnitate paschali inter competentes offertur, scribitur, eruditur, universa quoque religionis catholicæ veneranda mysteria cognoscens atque percipiens, celebrato solemniter scrutinio, per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur, cui se renunciare constanter, sicut hic consuetudo poscebat, auditurus symbolum profitetur; ipsa insuper sancti symboli verba memoriter in conspectu populi fidelis clara voce pronuncians, piam regulam dominicæ orationis accepit, simulque et quid crederet et quid oraret intelligens futuro baptismati parabatur.

[2] Cf. J. Kiesling, *Hist. de Usu Symbolorum*. Lips. 1753.

[3] Anima responsione sancitur.

[4] For the literature connected with this subject, whether historical or critical, see my *Symbolik*, 2te Augs. Lpz. 1846, p. 69 ff.

[5] This pregnant, vivid, and condensed expression and sum of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, as taught by the Apostles, such as before and concurrently with the New Testament canon, it was handed down from mouth to mouth in an uncorrupted tradition, is the testimony of the Holy Ghost, who supports and maintains the Church, like the true breath of spiritual life, breathed through the whole Church. See A. G. Rudelbach, *Ueber die Bedeutung des Apostolischen Symbolums*. Lpz. 1844.

[6] That particular form of the Apostles' Creed which was pre-

exist any reason for supposing that the one which is apparently the oldest and simplest (which, with Rufin's *Expositio in Symbolum Apostolicum*, has been literally transmitted and is still preserved in our own 'Apostles' Creed') derived its precise words and expressions from the Apostles[1].

dominantly in use in the Western Church, proceeded from Rome (on this account it is not unfrequently styled the *Symbolum Romanum*). Besides this form, however, we have others as early as the 4th Century. These several recensions are extremely similar; the two most important are the Eastern and the Western recensions. [They may be seen in Rheinwald, *Archäol.* p. 467, &c. and especially in A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Apostolisch-Katholischen Kirche.* Bresl. 1842; the reader may also consult on this subject my *Symbolik*, 2te A. p. 72, &c.] But even long before the 4th Century, though without the name of the Apostles' Creed, we can discern the thing itself most unmistakeably. Rufin, in the 4th Century, is, it is true, the first among extant writers to employ the name of Apostles' Creed [or Symbol]. But not only do we meet with the matter and form of this symbol long before Rufin's time, we find it, for instance, in the Confession of Faith of Marcellus of Ancyra, circ. 337 A.D., and we also recognize it as forming the decided basis of the Nicene Creed; but also the confessions of faith which are given us in the first centuries by an Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* I. 10. 1, and III. 4. 2), by a Tertullian (*De Virgg. Vel.* c. i.; *adv. Prax.* c. ii., and *De Præscrippt.* c. xiii.)—and then afterwards by Origen, Novatian, Cyprian, &c.—(they may be seen in my *Symbolik*, p. 76, &c.)—all these confessions of faith, which are spoken of by these several fathers as the original creed of the Church, which are expounded by them and appealed to in controversy—and by Cyprian, moreover, expressly designated by the term *symbolum* (*Epist.* LXXVI., just as at a later date, Leo Magnus, *Sermo* XXIII., speaks of the Apostles' Creed as *regula*)—were, without doubt, in their subject-matter nothing less than our *Symbolum Apostolicum*, either paraphrased (and this was the more frequent case), or compendiously interpreted, according to their individual views, which, however, by their whole contexture, prove the high antiquity of the Apostles' Creed itself, by which in simplicity and conciseness they are so far surpassed.

[1] That, properly speaking, the Apostles' Creed is not of Apostolical origin, and that therefore the statement of Rufin (Omnes apostoli in uno positi et Spiritu S. repleti breve istud futuræ sibi... prædicationis indicium conferendo in unum, quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt, atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuum) is erroneous, has been inferred not only from the character of the apostolical times, which was any thing but inclined to fixed forms, but also and mainly from the circumstance that the Apostles' Creed, as such, is not given nor contained in the New Testament, nor in any of the fathers of the first three centuries, and not even in Eusebius, and still further, from the existence and use, in the first centuries, of symbols divergent in form—from the great multitude of different readings in so short a composition,

Towards the end of the catechumen's probation—which, in different Churches, varied in its duration—the Apostles' Creed was imparted to him, not by writing, but by word of mouth[1] (the Church retaining this practice here, not only in compliance with her original custom of orally teaching the doctrines of the Gospel, but also with a view to secure a more diligent study and understanding of the Creed, and to guard against any misuse of it on the part of the heathens, and other adversaries, and at the same time to indicate its, in some respects, sacramental character, as contrasted with the written Word); and this oral teaching of the Creed was occasionally followed by special instruction upon it (such as we have still extant in St Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*, together with the προκατηχήσις). Shortly before their admission to the rite itself, the *competentes* received all necessary instruction on the nature of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper (Cyril Hieros. *Catech.* xviii. 32), whereas a more detailed teaching on these subjects (such as has come down to us in St Cyril's κατη-

and from the existence of different recensions. All the difficulties which arise from these facts are at once removed by supposing that in the ancient Church the symbol was not committed to writing, being intended only for oral recitation. At any rate, the contents are incontestably of apostolical origin. Moreover, as is apparent from the first three, or synoptical gospels, with their similarity of forms, it is evident that fixed forms were not very alien from the spirit of the Apostolical age. All the other forms which were prevalent in the ancient Church, are still extant, as already noticed, either paraphrased or individual interpretations of the Apostles' Creed, whose originality is thereby manifested. Nay more, it possesses both an ecclesiastical and an historical authority, from its uninterrupted adoption, and the deference paid to it, by the whole Christian Church (a fact which, in the absence of an Apostolical origin, it would be difficult to account for). There exists, therefore, every possible reason for acknowledging this creed to be Apostolical, whether or not it came from the Apostles' hands precisely and in every respect in its present shape and form. (See further on this subject, my *Symbolik*, u. s.)

[1] Church-history, without exception, expressly bears witness to the merely oral propagation of the baptismal confession of faith; thus for instance, Cyrillus Hieros. *Catech.* v. § 12; Basilius M. *De Spiritu S.* c. xxvii.; Augustinus, *Sermo* ccxii. § 2: (Nec ut eadem verba symboli teneatis, ullo modo debetis scribere, sed audiendo perdiscere, nec cum didiceritis scribere, sed memoria semper tenere atque recolere...Audiendo symbolum discitur, nec in tabulis vel in aliqua materia, sed in corde scribitur). On this account the Greek fathers also call it μάθημα.

χήσεις μυσταγωγικαὶ) was reserved until after their admission to baptism, and their first communion, when it was given to them either by the bishop or by a priest (Cyril, *Catech.* xviii. 33).

2 *Immediately before their baptism*, the candidates made their profession of faith, and that (in the manner most agreeable to the nature of the rite[1]) by means of answers to questions addressed to them by the administrator of the sacrament (see Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii.[2], Cyprian, *Epist.* lxx. lxxvi.[3], and the *Concil. Carthag.* [A.D. 256[4]], compared with Dionysii Alex. *Epis.* given in Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 9[5], and Cyril Hieros. *Mystag. Catech.* ii. 4[6]). After this they had for the second time to repeat their renunciation of the devil (Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. iv.[7], compared with *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii.[8], as also *Constitutt. Apost.* vii. 41[9], compared

[1] It is not the Church's intention in this rite to listen to the confession of any mere individual, to examine it and to approve of it, but it requires every one simply to adopt and to make the Church's own confession of faith. [And this is the cause why in infant baptism neither the minister nor the god-parents repeat the Creed, but rather the former asks the latter whether they [as speaking for the child] believe the Church's Creed. For this cause the Lutheran Church (not the United Church of Prussia) retains this form of interrogatory and answer].

[2] Ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes cet.

[3] In his *Ep.* lxx. he speaks of the interrogatio, quæ fit in baptismo, and declares, *Ep.* lxxvii., Non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt: Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam? cet.

[4] Sacramentum interrogat.

[5] Τοῖς...βαπτιζομένοις παρατυχὼν καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας.

[6] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγεῖσθε κολυμβήθραν...καὶ ἠρωτᾶτο ἕκαστος, εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος· καὶ ὡμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν.

[7] Cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suæ verba profitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur.

[8] In this passage Tertullian clearly speaks of the double abrenuntiatio, which was made by the candidates for baptism, partly aquam adituri ibidem, and partly aliquanto prius in ecclesia. For the passage itself, see p. 225, n. 7.

[9] The candidate for baptism professed: Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἐφευρίσσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν. (He then goes on: μετὰ τὴν ἀποταγήν: Ὅτι καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πιστεύω καὶ βαπτίζομαι).

with Ambrosius, *de Sacramentis*[1], i. 2) and all his works, and all his angels; which renunciation has, subsequently to the 4th Century, been associated with a variety of symbolical customs[2].

Baptism itself was originally administered by *immersion* (see Rom. vi. 14, and Col. ii. 12, compared with St Chrysostom, *Homil.* xxv. *in Joh.*[3]), and indeed generally by trine immersion (Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* c. xxvi.[4], and *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii.[5]), either in symbolical allusion to the Trinity (as was the opinion of Tertullian, *adv. Prax. ib.* and St Jerome, *ad Ephes.* iv.[6]), or perhaps to the three days of Christ's lying in the grave (according to St Cyril of Jerus. *Mystagog. Catech.* ii. 4[7]), or, as is the opinion of Gregory the Great (l. c.), to both. Spain alone, in the 6th Century, practised single immersion; a deviation from the general practice, which even Gregory the Great tolerates in his Epistle to Leander, Bishop of Seville (*Epist.* i. 43[8]). In

[1] Quando te interrogavit: abrenuntias diabolo et operibus ejus, quid respondisti? Abrenuntio.

[2] According to Cyril Hieros. *Mystag. Catech.* i. § 2. 4, the candidate for baptism, standing with outstretched hand in the porch of the baptistery (outside consequently of the consecrated building), was required to make the following renunciation of the devil, as if in the immediate presence of the Prince of this world: Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι σατανᾶ καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopag. *De Ecclesiast. Hierarchia*, c. 2, gives this symbol in a still more extended form.

[3] Καθάπερ ἔν τινι τάφῳ τῷ ὕδατι καταδυόντων ἡμῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος θάπτεται καὶ καταδὺς κάτω κρύπτεται ὅλος καθάπαξ, εἶτα ἀνανευόντων ἡμῶν ὁ καινὸς ἀνεισι πάλιν.

[4] Nec semel, sed ter ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur.

[5] Ter mergitamur cet.

[6] Ter mergimur, ut Trinitatis unum appareat sacramentum.

[7] Κατεδύσετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύσετε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα διὰ συμβόλου τὴν τριήμερον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι ταφήν.

[8] De trina mersione baptismatis nil responderi verius potest, quam ipsi sensistis, quia in una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus, ut, dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio triduani temporis exprimatur. Quod si quis forte etiam pro summæ Trinitatis veneratione æstimet fieri, neque ad hoc aliquid obsistit, baptizandum semel in aquis mergere, quia, dum in tribus subsistentiis una substantia est, reprehensibile esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismate in aquam vel ter vel semel immergere, quando et in tribus mersionibus personarum trinitas et in una potest divinitatis singularitas designari.

the case, however, of the sick (the *baptisma clinicorum*), the Church (even in ancient times) administered the sacrament simply by *sprinkling—adspersio*—a practice which St Cyprian defends as valid and sufficient (*Epist.* lxxvi.[1]); as indeed and in truth, whenever it is really an aspersion or affusion[2], it does not at all interfere with the essence of the sacrament[3]. The formula which accompanied the act of baptism were the words of our Lord (Matt. xxviii. 19), directly[4] addressed to the person baptized (Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 61[5]). Subsequently to the 4th Century, it was the custom, previous to immersion (εἰς προκατασκευὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος, according to *Constitutt. Apost.* vii. 42), to anoint the head with consecrated oil (*oleum*, ἔλαιον ἅγιον, μυστικὸν, or ἐπορκιστικὸν[6]; compare Cyril Hieros. *Mystag. Catech.* ii. § 3, with *Constitutt. Apost.* vii. 22). This preliminary anointing, however, was distinct from what was properly the chrism, by which the whole man was conse-

[1] Aliter pectus credentis abluitur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur....Quinimo Spiritus Sanctus non ad mensuram datur, sed super credentem totus infunditur.

[2] And not the mere moistening of the forehead with the tip of the finger, which modern laxity has introduced.

[3] Consequently essentially different from—what the Romanist would argue is quite analogous—the withholding the cup in the Lord's Supper. Moreover, the Greek Church has to this day retained the practice of immersion, whereas in the Western Church aspersio, or sprinkling, took its place in the 13th Century. Although Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, P. III. Qu. 66, Art. 6, says: In immersione expressius repræsentatur figura sepulturæ Christi, et ideo hic modus baptizandi est communior et laudabilior. By the 14th sprinkling had become universal. The Protestants have retained it. The Luther preferred immersion, while Calvin, with the Romanists (*Catech. Rom.*), viewed both modes with perfect indifference. As to extraordinary baptisms ministered without water, cf. J. A. Schmid, *De Bapt. per Arenam.* Helmst. 1697.

[4] I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Baptism merely in the name of Christ occurs only occasionally in the ancient Church, and those instances too among heretics. Cf. J. A. Orsi, *De Baptismo in Nom. J. Christi et de Hæreticis, qui bapt. form. olim adulterar.* 1733.

[5] Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λοῦτρον ποιοῦνται.

[6] Τὸ ἐπορκιστικὸν ἔλαιον σύμβολον ἦν τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πιότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φυγαδευτήριον τύγχανον παντὸς ἴχνους ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας.—Cyril, l. l.

crated to the service of Christ[1]. Moreover (and this was already the practice by the time of St Cyprian, *Epist.* LXX.[2]) the water for baptism was consecrated by the officiating minister.

At a very early date it was the custom, *immediately after the act of baptism*, to anoint the newly-baptized (*neophyti*) on different parts of the body[3], with the consecrated chrismatic oil (*unctio*, χρῖσμα, ἅγιον μύρον, *unguentum*), in token of the Christian spiritual priesthood (Tertullian, *de Bapt.* c. vii.[4], and Cyprian, *Epist.* LXX.[5], compared with Cyril, *Mystag. Catech.* iii. 1[6]), and also—after the precedent of the Apostolical practice (Acts viii. 16, 17)—to bless them by imposition of hands, in sign of their religious dedication, and also of the gift of the Holy Spirit. This *imposition of hands*, χειροθεσία, *manuum impositio*[7], was at first the closing act of the ministration of baptism (Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. viii.[8], compared with *de Resurr. Carnis*, c. viii.[9]). Subsequently to the 2nd and 3rd Centuries (since which period the chrismatic anointing has been associated with it), the importance of this rite was

[1] The two are distinguished by the *Constitt. Ap.* VII. 22, in these words: Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ.

[2] Oportet mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote (sacerdotis prece, as the *Concil. Carthag.* a. 256 ordains.—For the prayer of consecration see *Constitutt. Apost.* VII. 43).

[3] On the forehead, the ears, the nose, and the breast, according to St Cyril, see n. 6—while, on the other hand, the *Concil.* II. *Œc. Constantinop.* a. 381, can. 7, speaks of χρισμένους τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τό τε μέτωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰ ὦτα.

[4] Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione.

[5] Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto chrismate, i. e. unctione, esse unctus Dei et habere in se gratiam Christi possit.

[6] Ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας.....ἐδύθη χρίσμα....Καὶ πρῶτον ἐχρίσθε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, εἶτα ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα,...εἶτα ἐπὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ στήθη...Τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου χρίσματος καταξιωθέντες καλεῖσθε Χριστιανοί.

[7] Cf. F. Spanheim, *De Ritu Impositionis Manuum in Vet. Eccl.* in his *Opp.* T. II. p. 871 sqq.; G. T. Meier, *De Tribus Novellorum Nascentis Eccl. Initiamentis, Catechesi, Baptismo et Manuum Imposit.* Helmst. 1690; and other writers, as quoted in p. 234 ff.

[8] Dehinc (immediately after baptism) manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

[9] Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur.

more strongly insisted on (see Cyprian, *Epist.* LXXII.[1], and the letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43[2]), and consequently (on the authority of Acts viii., where its efficient operation is ascribed specially to the Apostles, after the previous administration of baptism by others) it was reserved to the bishops as their peculiar function (see Cypriani *Epist.* LXXIII.[3], also the treatise *de Rebaptismate*, erroneously ascribed to St Cyprian[4], and the letter of Innocentius, who was Bishop of Rome about 400, *Epist.* i. *ad Decent.* § 3[5]). This reservation, however, does not seem to have been invariable and universal[6]. As however it was very far from being always the case that a bishop was present to complete the rite of baptism, it became the custom in the 3rd Century to regard the imposition of hands with the chrismatic anointing as a special rite (*Confirmatio*[7]) which was to be administered by the laying on of the bishop's hands[8]. What, moreover, greatly promoted this separation of confirmation from baptism, was

[1] Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque (baptism and confirmation) nascantur.

[2] Τούτων δὲ (the imposition of hands) μὴ τυχών πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχεν;

[3] Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, says St Cyprian, with reference to Acts viii., ut, qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum S. consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur.

[4] Per manus impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus S., sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos post Philippi baptisma manum eis imponendo fecerunt et hac ratione Spiritum S. in eos contulerunt.

[5] De consignandis infantibus manifestum est non ab alio quam episcopo fieri licere.

[6] Apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus. Ambrosiaster *ad Eph.* iv. 11.

[7] On the subject of confirmation, as prescribed in the Roman Catholic Church, see E. Benzelius, *De Sacramento Confirmationis Romanensium*, in his *Syntagma Dissert.* T. II. 1745. With regard to a view of it, which though sacramental is nevertheless somewhat analogous to the higher theory of the Roman Church, and which is maintained by the English Churches, see C. M. Pfaff, *De Confirmatione Catechumenorum in Ecclesiis Anglo Catholicis Hist.* Tub. 1723. (In regard to confirmation, the Greek Church differs from the Roman, 1st, in not employing the imposition of hands; 2nd, in allowing every priest as well as the bishop to confirm; 3rd, in administering it immediately after baptism).

[8] Neophyti ab episcopo confirmentur.—*Concil. Arelat.* III. a. 524.

a custom (which by this time had become the general rule) of receiving conforming heretics (with a few exceptions) into the Catholic Church, simply by imposition of hands, without rebaptism. It was only when baptism was administered by a bishop that confirmation was joined with it in one rite. In other cases, the bishop, on his diocesan visitations, administered it to all such as had been baptized by his clergy, whether in the rural districts or in the towns, as the *signaculum*, σφραγίς (Hieronym. *adv. Luciferianos*, c. ix.[1]).

Hereupon the neophytes put on white robes[2], which they also continued to wear after the rite (Cyril. *Mystag. Catech.* iv. 8[3]). In many Churches, *e.g.* that of North Africa, they also received as emblems of their being regenerate—spiritually new-born children—a mixture of milk and honey[4] (see Tertullian, *de Cor. Mil.* c. 3[5], and *contra Marcion.* i. 14[6], as also *Concil. Hippon.* [A.D. 393] can. 23[7], compared with the allusion in Clemens Alex. *Pædagogus*, i. p. 183), or (as was the case in Verona) as a symbol of the talent received in baptism, with other objects a gold coin (cf. Zeno Veron. *Tractat.* Lib. i. 14[8] [of the 4th Century]). Not to mention other practices of a modern origin[9], they were, as members of the Church's communion, saluted with the kiss of peace (*osculum pacis*, εἰρήνη)

[1] Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos, qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.

[2] Cf. G. Wegner, *De Alba Veste Baptizatorum.* Regiom. 1700.

[3] Τὰ πνευματικῶς they are here called by St Cyril.

[4] Cf. C. H. Zeibich, *De Infantatione per lac et mel Baptismi.* Viteb. 1736.

[5] Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus.

[6] Lactis et mellis societatem, qua suos infantat (Dominus).

[7] Primitiæ, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solemnissimo (baptismali) in infantum mysterio solet offerri, ... suam habent propriam benedictionem.

[8] The neophytes were presented with sal, ignis et oleum, tunica rudis et unus denarius, quem qui libens acceperit acceptumque non spreverit, inæstimabiles divitias possidebit.

[9] To this salt and the burning tapers (the latter in the same sense as baptism itself, was called φωτισμὸς and φῶς, as mentioned by Justin Martyr even, *Apolog.* i., and Clement of Alexandria) allusion is made by as early a writer as Zeno, u. s.—Cf. J. Faes, *De Cereis Baptismalibus.* Helmst. 1712.

(Cyprian, *Epist.* Lix., compared with St Chrysostom's Homily on reading the Scriptures, *Opp.* T. III. p. 80[1]), and (provided they had also received confirmation) were soon after admitted with the rest of the Church[2] to the Holy Communion—for which Easter Sunday was the favourite day. It was also the custom for the baptized to receive new names[3] (Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 21), in order to indicate thereby the new spiritual existence on which they had entered in baptism, and in allusion to Rev. ii. 17, and which (on account of the heathen signification of most of those ordinarily borne, and of their ill repute in consequence) were generally so chosen as to convey a spiritual meaning[4] (see St Chrysostom, *Homil.* xxi. *in Genes.*[5]), or to carry the mind to the sacred characters of the Old or New Testament (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25[6]).

No particular time was appointed at first for baptisms[7] (the baptism of proselytes). From the 2nd Century, however, it seems to have been the practice to regard Easter and Whitsuntide, although not exclusively, still as pre-eminently the seasons for solemnizing baptism (Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. xix.[8]). This custom, which began in the East, spread from thence to many parts of the West[9]. Another favourite

[1] The first birth, says St Chrysostom, begins with tears: ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ γέννησις αὕτη ... οὐδαμοῦ θρῆνος, οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυα ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ἀσπασμοὶ καὶ φιλίαι καὶ περιπλοκαὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν...' Επειδὴ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ φωτίσματος ἐχθρὸς ἦν, μετὰ τὸ φώτισμα γέγονε φίλος τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν δεσπότου. διὰ τοῦτο πάντες συνηδόμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Ὁ τῷ θεουργικωτάτῳ μύρῳ αὐτὸν (the candidate for baptism) σφραγισάμενος μέτοχον ἀποφαίνει λοιπὸν τῆς ἱεροτελεστικωτάτης εὐχαριστίας—Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *De Eccl. Hier.* c. ii.

[3] In the baptism of young children they received their name.

[4] Such names therefore as Theodorus, Theophilus, Theodoretus, Eusebius, Macarius, Innocentius, Adeodatus, u. s. w.

[5] This is St Chrysostom's requisition with a view to its bearing on Christian training.

[6] Ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς τῶν πιστῶν παισὶν ὀνομάζεται.

[7] Cf. Natalis Alexander, *De Baptismi Solemnis Tempore*, in his *Thesaurus Theol.* Ven. 1762.

[8] Diem baptismo solemniorem pascha præstat, cum et passio Domini, in quam tingimur, adimpleta est....Exinde pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est. But he concludes at the end: Omnis dies Domini est, omnis hora, omne tempus habile baptismo; si de solemnitate interest, de gratia nihil refert.

[9] And yet the Roman bishop Siricius (obiit 398 A.D.), *Epist. ad Himer. Taracon.* § 2, expresses a

season for this purpose was the feast of the Epiphany[1]. Not only, however, was an earnest voice of remonstrance raised at a very early date (as *e. g.* by St Chrysostom, *Hom.* i. *in Acta App.*[2], and by others), against any long postponement of baptism for the sake of such festivals; but the practice of Infant Baptism, which gradually became the universal custom, necessarily tended to destroy the preference for these seasons. Still it was not until after the 10th Century that baptism came to be administered indifferently at all times. Moreover, its ministration was not at first fixed to any particular spot (Tertullian, *de Bapt.* c. iv.[3]); it is only since the 4th Century that it began to be regularly administered in the baptisteries.

Naturally enough, the institution of *Infant Baptism*[4] was not without considerable influence on the whole rite of baptism. Although we cannot adduce any direct Apostolical authority for the practice of Infant Baptism, still there is an abundance of indirect testimonies in favour of

very strong objection to the growing practice passim ac libere natalitiis Christi, seu Apparitionis nec non et apostolorum seu martyrum festivitatibus, innumeræ plebes baptismi mysterium consequantur, since this privilege belonged properly only to Easter and to Whitsuntide, quibus solis per annum diebus ad fidem confluentibus generalia baptismatis tradi convenit sacramenta. Although he afterwards goes on to say: Sicut sacram ergo paschalem reverentiam in nullo dicimus esse minuendam, ita infantibus, qui necdum loqui poterunt per ætatem, vel his, quibus in qualibet necessitate opus fuerit, sacri unda baptismatis omni volumus celeritate succurri.

[1] These three seasons are mentioned by Gregory Nazi. *Orat.* XL. (below, p. 239). For the festival of Epiphany, see above, § 26, 1.—For the time of baptizing little infants, see below, *ibid.*

[2] Μηδεὶς νομιζέτω ἄκαιρον εἶναι,...εἰ μή ἐστι τεσσαρακοστὴ νῦν...Οἱ γοῦν ἀπόστολοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ πάσχα κατηξιώθησαν τῆς χάριτος, ... καὶ οἱ τρισχίλιοι ... ὅτι ἐβαπτίσθησαν,πάσχα οὐκ ἦν καιρός. Μὴ τοίνυν καιρὸν ἀναμένωμεν, μήποτε μέλλοντες καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενοι ἀπέχωμεν κενοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν (or, as Gregory Nazianz. *Orat.* XL. says in this respect: ἥξει τὸ τέλος ἐξαίφνης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷς, καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκεις).

[3] Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Johannes in Jordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit cet.

[4] Cf. W. Wall, *The History of Infant Baptism.* 2 Voll. Lond. 1720. 8 (*Lateinisch Durch*, J. L. Schlosser. Brem. 1748, and Hamb. 1753, 4); and J. G. Walch, *Historia Pædobaptismi Quatuor priorum Seculorum.* Jen. 1739, 4 (also in his *Miscellan. Sacr.* Amst. 1744).

it (pre-eminently Mark x. 14, compared with John iii. 5, and 1 Cor. vii. 14), while the whole character of the Christian scheme of redemption (as embracing the whole family of mankind) affords a strong and clear presumption in support of it[1]. Moreover, without some Apostolical tradition, it is wholly inconceivable how its claim to an Apostolical origin could ever have gained such unhesitating assent as it received from an Origen (*Homil.* xiv. *in Lucam*[2], *in Rom.* v. 9[3], &c.), and from a Cyprian (*Epist.* LIX.[4], &c.). But besides, we find the practice of infant baptism generally adopted even in the 2nd Century. And the testimony to this fact is not only to be drawn from the mode in which its one-sided and subjective opponent Tertullian (*de Bapt.* c. XVIII.[5]) argues against it, but also from a passage of Irenæus, which in modern times has almost invariably been misunderstood (Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 22. 4[6]). The *Constitutt. Apost.* 15, speak

[1] See my *Manual of Church History*, § 39, 1 (6 Aufl. p. 172 f.), and above all, Göschel's profound treatise *Dass Geheimniss der Taufe*, Ev. Kirchenzeitung, 1846, nr. 21—23.—Indeed in exactly the same degree as in each case, baptism is (so to speak) the baptism of a child, the more likely is its true object to be realized.

[2] Quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli.

[3] Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi, quibus mysteriorum secreta commissa sunt divinorum, quod essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et Spiritum ablui deberent.

[4] Universi judicavimus — so asserts Cyprian of a council of sixty-six bishops, held A.D. 252, — nulli homini nato misericordium Dei et gratiam denegandam ... Deus ut personam non accipit, sic nec ætatem, cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate librata præbeat patrem... Ceterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset, magis adultos et provectos et majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora cet.

[5] Ait quidem Dominus, nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant ergo, dum adolescunt; veniant, dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur; fiant Christiani, cum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?

[6] Christus omnes venit per semet ipsum salvare. Omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus sanctificans infantes, in parvulis parvulus cet. That this passage is not an authority merely for the idea out of which infant baptism arose, but for infant baptism itself, has been proved incidentally by H. W. J. Thiersch, in *Rudelbach und Guericke Zeitschrift für die Gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1841. H. 2. 177.

of it as an Apostolical injunction[1]. According to Cyprian (*Epist.* LIX. *ad Fidum*), and a Carthaginian synod [A.D. 252], the baptism of infants ought not to be delayed beyond the second or third day after birth, while the decretals of Siricius require it in general terms to be administered very soon after[2]. Notwithstanding, a long period elapsed before a correct theory on this head[3], and still longer before a correct practice, prevailed[4] universally. As late as the 4th Century infant baptism was anything but universally observed in the East (Chrysostom, *Homil.* viii. *in Ephes.* compared with Gregor. Nazianz. *Orat.* XL.[5]); and its neglect was but too often attended with the visible detriment of individuals and families[6]. On the occasion indeed of any great public calamities, every one hurried to be baptized (Chrysostom, *Hom.* XLI. *in Acta App.*), otherwise it was usual to defer it as long as possible, either out of frivolity and levity, or from pride, or for external reasons; sometimes[7] from a superstitious reverence, or—to employ the

[1] Βαπτίζετε ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Θεοῦ.

[2] Quantum — says Cypr. — ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sint, constitutos baptizari *non oportere*, et considerandum esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum, qui natus est, baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares; longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est cet.—And with this *Epist.* I. *ad Himer.* c. II., essentially agrees, since he avows it, in still more general terms, as his desire, infantibus sacri unda baptismatis omni celeritate succurri.

[3] But, as was natural, she required the baptism, not of *all* children *universally*, but of children who by their parents or godparents had a sort of right to Christian and churchly communion.

[4] Cf. A. F. Büsching, *De Procrastinatione Baptismi apud veteres ejusque causis.* Hal. 1747.

[5] St Chrysostom avows: Νῦν οἱ πλείους περιορῶσι καὶ δούλους καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀμυήτους τυγχάνοντας, and Gregory of Nazianzus, when relating the various expedients of those who kept putting off baptism either absolutely to their old age, or at least kept deferring it from day to day, quotes the following specious fallacy from the example of Christ: Ἀλλὰ Χριστὸς τριακονταέτης βαπτίζεται, καὶ ταῦτα Θεὸς ὤν, καὶ σὺ κελεύεις ἐπισπεύδειν τὸ βάπτισμα;...Μένω τὰ φῶτα, τὸ πάσχα μοι τιμιώτερον, τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἐκδέξομαι· Χριστῷ συμφωτισθῆναι βέλτιον, Χριστῷ συναναστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν, τοῦ πνεύματος τιμῆσαι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

[6] Even a Monica deferred the baptism of her child Augustin, and this delay became the primary source of St Augustin's aberrations.

[7] So for instance Monica.

mildest terms—from illusory pietistic scruples for the inviolability of the sacrament (see Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* XL.). And notwithstanding the zealous remonstrances of the Church's greatest teachers (*e. g.* Gregory of Nyssa in his whole treatise *πρὸς τοὺς βραδύνοντας εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 515), Basil the Great (*προτρεπτικὴ ὁμιλία εἰς ἅγιον βάπτισμα*), Gregory Nazianz. (*ibid.*), Chrysostom (*e. g. Hom.* i. *in Acta Apostol.*), &c.—against such irregularities, it was not until after the 5th Century that infant baptism became the general practice of the Church, which, however, with child-like simplicity, but with manly resolution, the Church has ever since maintained as the best safeguard against fanatical enthusiasm of every kind[1].

It was in all probability the practice of infant baptism that gave rise to the very ancient institution of God-parents[2] (*sponsores*, *fide jussores*, *ἀνάδοχοι*, *susceptores*), who, in the name of the infants, made the public profession of faith, or at least acted as sureties for them, and undertook the charge, or at least the partial charge, of their Christian education and culture (cf. Tertullian, *de Bapt.* c. XVIII.[3], and Augustin [or rather Pseudo-Aug.], *Homil.* CLXVIII.[4]). Occasionally the parents themselves under-

[1] Protestants also have retained it: the Lutherans do so in perfect consistency with the whole body of their teaching; the Reformed have at least done so, but by a mere accommodation (see my *Symbolik*, 2te Aus. s. 464), which naturally enough has given way before the assaults of anabaptism.

[2] Cf. Gerh. van Mastricht, *Schediasma de Susceptoribus Infantium ex Baptismo, eorum origine, usu et abusu.* Duisb. 1670, ed. 2, Frcf. 1727; A. Schüler, *De Susceptoribus.* Viteb. 1688; J. Jundt, *De Susceptorum Baptismalium Origine.* Argent. 1755; A. Jenichen, *De Patrinis eorumque origine, numero et nexu.* Lips. 1758.

[3] Quid enim necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo ingeri?

[4] Admoneo, fratres, ut, quotiens paschalis solemnitas venit, quicunque viri, quæcunque mulieres de sacro fonte filios spiritaliter exceperunt, cognoscant se pro ipsis fidejussores apud Deum exstitisse, et ideo semper illis sollicitudinem veræ caritatis impendant. (Admoneant,—he then goes on in details to say,—ut castitatem custodiant, virginitatem usque ad nuptias servent, a maledicto vel perjurio linguam refrenent, cantica turpia vel luxuriosa ex ore non proferant, non superbiant, non invideant, iracundiam vel odium in corde non teneant, auguria non observent, phylacteria vel characteres diabolicos nec sibi nec suis aliquando suspendant, præcantatores ut ministros diaboli fugiant, fidem catholicam teneant, ad ecclesiam frequentius currant, contempta verbositate lectiones divinas attentis auribus audiant cet).

took the office of sponsors for their children (see Cæsarius Arelat. *Sermo* CCLXIV.[1]); a practice which was however subsequently condemned by the Synod of Mayence [A.D. 813], in its 55th canon[2]. From the 4th and 5th Centuries, and particularly in the middle ages, it became the practice to choose by preference distinguished persons among the monks and clergy for god-parents, and especially in the case of adults (proselytes); although the choice of the former for this purpose was condemned by the 25th canon of the first Synod of Auxerre (*Concil. Autissiodorense*, A.D. 578[3]).

With good reason a kind of spiritual relationship (a *cognatio spiritualis*) was, from a very early period, supposed to subsist between the sponsors and their godchildren. Most absurdly, on the other hand, has this spiritual relationship (which, in its principle, subsists between all true Christians generally, and with which the more intimate bond of wedlock is, of all, the least inconsistent) been accounted so real and corporeal as, since the 6th Century, to be made a bar to marriage (see *Codex Justinian.* v. 4, 26[4], and *Concil. Quinisext. Trull.* [A.D. 692], can. 53[5]); a view which, though Boniface, the apostle of Germany, protested

[1] Interrogamur in baptismo, utrum abrenuntiemus diabolo, et abrenuntiaturos nos voce libera respondemus. Quod quia infantes per se minime profiteri possunt, parentes ipsorum pro eis fidejussores existunt. (Cf. *Sermo* CCLXVII.: Non solum exemplis, sed etiam verbis eos [baptizandos] ad omne opus bonum admonere debetis; præcipue tamen qui filios aut filias excipere religioso amore desiderant,...agnoscant se fidejussores esse ipsorum; pro ipsis enim respondent, quod abrenuntient diabolo, pompis et operibus ejus. Et ideo tam illi qui excipiunt, quam qui excipiuntur, i. e. tam patres quam filii, pactum...custodire contendant).

[2] Nullus propriam filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat.

[3] Non licet abbati filios de baptismo habere, nec monachis commatres habere.

[4] Ea persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis....a sacrosancto suscepit baptismate, cum nihil aliud sic inducere potest paternam affectionem et justam nuptiarum prohibitionem, quam hujusmodi nexus, per quem Deo mediante animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.

[5] Ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἡ κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οἰκειότης τῆς τῶν σωμάτων συναφείας, ἔγνωμεν δὲ ἔν τισι τόποις τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος παῖδας ἀναδεχομένους καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἐκείνων μητράσι χηρευούσαις γαμικὸν συναλλάττοντας συνοικέσιον· ὁρίζομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν τοιοῦτον πραχθῆναι.

against it in the strongest and most forcible terms (*Epist.* XL. ed. Würdtwein[1]), was nevertheless not set aside until after the Reformation.

A peculiar question arose in the ancient Church touching the baptism of heretics—of such, that is, as came over to the orthodox Church. In Asia Minor and North Africa[2] (for a while indeed of the rigorous school) such baptism alone was regarded as valid as had been administered in the true Church, so that (it was held) a heretic on conforming to the Church must receive baptism from it. (For the authorities in the case of the Church of Asia Minor, see the letter of Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea, to Cyprian—numbered as the 75th of Cyprian's letters[3]—and also Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 7[4]; for the authorities bearing on the North African Church—which indeed date long before Cyprian—see Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. XV.[5], and the statement in Cyprian's *Epist.* LXXIII.[6]) In the Roman Church, on the other hand, conforming heretics, if they had been previously baptized—it mattered not in what sect or by what heretical baptism[7]—were treated as *pœnitentes*[8], and in-

[1] Quia nullatenus intelligere possum, quare uno loco spiritualis propinquitas in conjunctione carnalis copulæ tam grande peccatum sit [quod Romani peccatum esse asserunt—he had previously said—et capitale peccatum, ita ut in talibus divortia facere præcipiant], quando omnes in sacro baptismate Christi et ecclesiæ filii et filiæ, fratres et sorores esse comprobemur. 'Sintemal alle getaufte Weiber aller getauften Männer geistliche Schwestern sind, durch einerlei Taufe, Sacrament, Glauben, Geist, HErrn, Gott und ewiges Erbe.' ('Since all baptized women are the spiritual sisters of all baptized men, through the one baptism, sacrament, faith, spirit, Lord, God, and eternal life.'—Luther, *Predigt vom Ehelichen Leben*).

[2] See moreover, J. H. Sbaralea, *Germana S. Cypriani et Afrorum nec non Firmiliani Opinio de Hæreticor. Baptismate.* Bonon. 1741.

[3] Hæretico sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare, nec quicquam sancte nec spiritaliter agere, quando alienus sit a spiritali et deifica sanctitate. Quod totum nos jam pridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus est, collecti in unum convenientibus ex Galatia et Cilicia et ceteris proximis regionibus confirmavimus tenendum contra hæreticos firmiter et vindicandum...Et hoc apud nos observatur, ut quicunque ab hæreticis tincti ad nos veniunt, tanquam alieni et nihil consecuti unico et vero catholicæ ecclesiæ baptismo apud nos baptizentur.

[4] "Οτι μὴ νῦν οἱ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ μόνον τοῦτο παρεισήγαγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν Ἰκονίῳ καὶ Συννάδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦτο ἔδοξεν.

[5] Unus omnino baptismus est nobis.... Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ...Non idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus est idem. Ideoque nec baptismus unus...Ita nec possunt accipere, quia non habent.

[6] Apud nos autem non nova aut repentina res est, ut baptizandos censeamus eos, qui ab hæreticis ad ecclesiam veniunt, quando multi jam anni sint et longa ætas, ex quo sub Agrippino [Agrippinus was Bishop of Carthage, circ. 200] convenientes in unum episcopi plurimi hoc statuerint.

[7] Cyprian, *Epist.* LXXIV., could even say of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, that he went so far 'ut

corporated into the Church simply by the imposition of the bishop's hands (see the fragment of the Roman bishop, Cornelius, *Fragm. Epist. ad Cypr.*, the 74th of the collection of Cyprian's letters[1]). Three Carthaginian synods during Cyprian's episcopate [A.D. 255 and 256] decided unanimously in favour of the old African custom. (Cyprian, *Epist.* LXX. *sqq.*) And their decision met with no opposition even in Alexandria. (See Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 7). The insolence of the Roman bishop, Stephen, in defending the Roman view, was the main and only obstacle to its immediate reception everywhere[2]. From his time, however, the Romish Church steadily adhered in all essential points to its own ancient practice, and simply administered confirmation to all conforming heretics (see Innocentius, *Epist.* xxii. § 4[3], and Leo

etiam de Marcionis baptismo item Valentini et Appelletis et ceterorum blasphemantium in Deum Patrem, contendat filios Dei nasci.'

[5] So in the Church of North Africa, on the other hand, only those who after they had been received in the Catholic Church had fallen into heresy, but had subsequently returned to the true faith: Ut quos constet hic [in Eccl. Cath.] baptizatos esse et a nobis ad hæreticos transiisse, si postmodum... ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in pœnitentiam manum imponere.—Cyprian, *Epist.* LXXI.

[1] Stephen, in his Epistle to Cyprian, advances the requisition: Si quis ergo a quacunque hæresi venerit ad vos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam.

[2] Of the first of these synods [A.D. 255] we are told by St Cyprian, *Ep.* LXX., that the assembled bishops had declared sententiam nostram non novam, sed jam pridem ab antecessoribus nostris statutam et a nobis observatam, censentes scilicet et pro certo tenentes, neminem foris baptizari extra ecclesiam posse, cum sit baptisma unum in s. ecclesia constitutum. Of the second, which was still more numerously attended, and was held in the beginning of A.D. 256, he tells us, *Epist.* LXXIII., that they had come to the same conclusion: statuentes unum baptisma esse, quod sit in ecclesia cath. constitutum, ac per hoc non rebaptizari, sed baptizari a nobis, quicunque ab adultera et profana aqua veniunt abluendi et sanctificandi salutaris aquæ veritate. Of these resolutions Cyprian duly informed Stephen, *Epist.* LXXII.: Eos, qui sint foris extra ecclesiam tincti et apud hæreticos et schismaticos profanæ aquæ labe maculati, quando ad nos atque ad ecclesiam, quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spir. S., nisi accipiant et ecclesiæ baptismum. The third and the fullest of these Carthaginian synods, on the 1st Sept., 256, subsequently came to a similar conclusion.

[3] Non pudet Stephanum, Firmilian of Cesarea was able to write, Cyprianum pseudochristum et pseudoapostolum et dolosum operarium dicere.—Quæ ista obstinatio est, are the words of Cyprian, still adhering to his own partial and one-sided opinion, *Ep.* LXXIV., quæve præsumptio, humanam traditionem divinæ dispositioni anteponere...Nec consuetudo, quæ apud quosdam obrepserat, impedire debet, quominus veritas prævaleat et vincat. Nam consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est.

[4] Nostræ lex ecclesiæ est, venientibus ab hæreticis, qui tamen illic baptizati sunt, per manus impositionem laicam tribuere communionem cet.

M. *Epist.* cxxix. § 7[1]); while in the other branches of the Church (the North-African no longer excluded[2]) a middle view began from the 4th Century to prevail, which however in all important particulars gradually approximated to the Roman principle[3]. Thus the *Concil. Arelat.* (A.D. 314), can. 8[4] (with which other Councils subsequently concurred essentially[5]), decreed that such heretics as had been previously baptized in the name of the Triune God were to be regarded as truly baptized, whereas all others must, upon conforming, be received by true baptism. This also is the view of the Evangelical Church[6].

Sect. XXXII.—THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Cf. D. Blondell, *De Eucharistia Veteris Eccles.* 1640; H. Rixner, *De Veterum Christianorum circa s. Eucharistiam Institutis ac Ritibus.* Helmst. 1670, 1673; J. A. Quenstedt, *De s. Eucharistiæ Ritibus Antiquis.* Viteb. 1680; A. H. Deutschmann, *De Ritibus circa s. Eucharistiam Institutis.* Viteb. 1693; J. Hildebrand, *Rituale Eucharist. Vet. Eccles.* Helmst. 1712; C. M. Pfaff, *De Oblatione Eucharistiæ in Primitiva Eccl. usitata.* Hag. 1715 (also in his *Syntagma Dissertatt.* p. 291 sqq.); F. Brenner, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung und Ausspendung der Eucharistie von Christus bis auf unsre Zeiten.* Bamb. 1824.—And other writers quoted below on the several points of detail.

[1] Qui baptismum ab hæreticis acceperant, cum antea baptizati non fuissent, sola invocatione Spiritus S. per impositionem manuum confirmandi sunt, quia formam tantum baptismi sine sanctificationis virtute sumpserunt. Et hanc regulam ... servandam in omnibus ecclesiis prædicamus, ut lavacrum semel initum nulla iteratione violetur.

[2] Cf. Augustin, *De Baptismo c. Donat.* v. 2: Propter caritatis communionem ... manus correctis hæreticis imponitur; and the assertion of the Roman bishop, Siricius, *Ep.* i. *ad Himer.* § 1, according to which certain heretical and schismatical parties (whom he mentions) per invocationem solam septiformis Spiritus episcopalis manus impositione catholicorum conventui sociamus, quod etiam totus oriens occidensque custodit.

[3] Only that the condition of Stephanus (a quacunque hæresi, s. 299, anm. 1) was now duly limited.

[4] De Afris, quod propria sua lege utuntur, ut rebaptizent, placuit, ut si ad ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi venerit, interrogent eum symbolum; et si perviderint eum in Patre et Filio et Spiritu S. esse baptizatum, manus ei tantum imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum S.; quodsi interrogatus non responderit hanc trinitatem, baptizetur.

[5] For instance, at the Concil. Œcumen. II. of Constantinople, in so far as the canon 7 contains a list of the heretical and schismatical parties, from whom alone converts to the Catholic Church were to receive simply the chrism and anointing, as the σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος Ἁγ.

[6] Insomuch as it does not rebaptize (rebaptizat), but merely for the first time give *true* baptism (recte baptizat) to converts from Socinianism. Among the new communities none but the Anabaptists deny the validity of baptism administered by any other community in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Generally the sacraments form the profoundest and most essential portion of Christianity—and of the sacraments the most essential and most important is that of the Lord's Supper—that sacrament which renews and confirms the spiritual, new creation, of which the foundation is laid in baptism—the feast in which the believers in Christ set forth the atoning death of their Lord, and thereby enter into the most intimate and most mystical personal communion with Him, receiving His Body and Blood[1] as the bodily seal of their faith, which is to give a concrete vitality to what else were a mere abstract knowledge of Christianity, that they may attain to a true and perfect personal appropriation of the whole of the great work of redemption, and keep up the real communion between Christ the head, and His body the Church. However in the doctrine of this sacrament, and in the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, the several modern confessions differ most decidedly one from another. For while one party maintains the pure simplicity of the Word of God and of the ancient Church; another, by an over-estimate of it, goes beyond this pure foundation, and both falls into superstition, and in the same spirit adopts a materialistic rite and administration of it[2]; and a third party, by taking too low a view of it, and being weak of faith, while it pretends to spiritualize it, allows all its true essence to escape. To carry out these remarks into details is, however, the province rather of a treatise on confessions (symbolik) and on liturgies. It will be sufficient for our present object to have made these general remarks, and we may now proceed to settle our archæological data.

1 The administration of the Holy Communion was originally combined with a feast or meal, analogous to that of the Jewish passover, and which, as symbolical of brotherly love, was called *Agape*[3]. In this union[4] the δεῖπνον κυριακὸν (called also ἡ ἀγάπη in Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyrn.*

[1] This was from the very beginning the faith of the Church, clearly and plainly avowed by all the Fathers of the Church from the times of the apostles—an Ignatius, a Justin, and an Irenæus—and in all essential points maintained through all ages until the Reformed Church (the Genevan or Calvinistic) formally rejected it; a belief, however, which it must be confessed was for a long time [down to the age of Luther] anything but dogmatically fixed, and consequently open to vagueness on the one side, and on the other to exaggerated as well as inadequate statements. Cf. my *Handb. der Kirchegeschichte*, 6 A. Th. I. s. 175 ff. and s. 357 ff., and Th. II. and III. &c. &c.

[2] But at the same time, not without an essential diminution in the Roman Catholic Church, by the withholding of the cup.

[3] Cf. C. S. Schurzfleisch (properly F. Creitlov.), *De Veteri Agaparum Ritu*. Lips. 1690; L. A. Muratori, *De Agapis Sublatis* (in his *Anecdota Gr.* Pat. 1709, p. 241 sqq.); J. Th. F. Drescher, *De Vett. Christianorum Agapis*. Giess. 1821.

[4] It seems also to be alluded to in Pliny's report of the statements of the Christians, *Epp.* x. 96: Morem sibi fuisse rursus coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

c. viii., cf. *Br. Judä*, v. 12) was celebrated daily in the first Christian Churches (Acts ii. 42, 46, and 1 Cor. x. 11), and indeed, according to Ignatius (*ibid.*[1]), not without the participation, or at least the approbation, of the bishop. As early however as by the beginning of the 2nd Century, the increase in the numbers of the different communities, the suspicions of the heathens, which were naturally directed to this feast above all else (see Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, p. 4[2], and Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* ii. 4[3]), and also many irregularities, such as in this case might only too easily occur (1 Cor. xi. 20, &c.), led to the separation of the Feast of Charity from the administration of the Lord's Supper, and to its being celebrated apart by itself, under the name of ἀγάπη. Its celebration was commenced with prayer, a moderate meal was taken, while every one spoke as in the immediate presence of God, and, after hymns sung in honour of the Lord, it was also concluded with prayer. Such is the favourable and approving description which Tertullian, before his adoption of Montanism, gave of this feast (*Apologet.* c. xxxix.[4]). At the same time, it was almost inevitable that, in some places, such an institution should become corrupt—or, at least, degenerate into a mere formality. Distinction of ranks, on the part of the rich, a self-righteousness resting on good works, and even occasionally sensual excess and luxury, were the vices to which it was only too liable (see the bitter account which, in the puritanism of his Montanistic period, Tertullian gives of them,

[1] Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

[2] He here mentions the reproach which was brought against the Christians of Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, and Οἰδιποδεῖοι μίξεις.

[3] Quid—he says of the heathen husband in the case of the Christian wife,—ad convivium illud dominicum, quod infamant, sine sua suspicione dimittet?

[4] Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit...Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est, pietatis nomine facere sumptum, siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto juvamus...Nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiæ admittit. Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur, quantum esurientes cupiunt; bibitur, quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint, etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse. Ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant Dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere. Hinc probatur, quomodo biberit. Æque oratio convivium dirimit.

de Jejun. c. xvii.[1], which although it is no doubt somewhat exaggerated, since it is so decidedly opposed to all his previous statements— is nevertheless in some degree confirmed by Clemens Alexand. *Pædagog.* ii. p. 165, and *Stromata*, vii. p. 892[2]). Consequently, in the 4th Century the Church (though not simultaneously in all its branches) gave up this ancient custom of childlike simplicity; thus exercising the rule of Christian liberty in a matter which was nowhere imperatively enjoined[3]. The only remnant of it that survived was the feasts provided for the poor by the richer members of the congregation (Augustin, *contra Faustum*, xx. 20[4]) and which were generally given in the churches —an impropriety which was prohibited by the *Concil. Laodic.* [A.D. 360], can. 28[5], and again (though less absolutely) by the *Concil. Hippon.* [A.D. 393], can. 29[6], as well as by individual bishops[7].

2 As *regards the accidents of time and place* of administration: the Lord's Supper, after its separation from the *Agape*, was usually celebrated on the principal Church-days (such as Fridays, Wednesdays, Saturdays, and also on all eves of the commemoration-days of the Martyrs[8]),

[1] Apud te agape in cacabis fervet, fides in culinis calet, spes in ferculis jacet. Sed majoris est agape, quia per hanc adolescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt.

[2] Clement also, no doubt, speaks in the former passage of a σαρκικὸς καὶ φθοροποιὸς βίος, ὃν ἀγάπην τινὲς τολμῶσι καλεῖν, and in the latter of a ψευδώνυμος ἀγάπη; although, according to another passage of his writings, ἀγάπη τῷ ὄντι ἐπουράνιός ἐστι τροφή. *Pædag.* ii. p. 166.

[3] Of the modern communities, the Moravian Brethren (the Unitas Fratrum) have alone renewed this practice; but in consequence of the great vigilance, which owing to the smallness of their body, they are able to exercise, no offence has yet arisen out of it.

[4] Agapes nostræ pauperes pascunt, sive frugibus sive carnibus.

[5] Οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ ἀκκούβιτα στρωννύειν. (The *Concil. Quinisext. Trull.* a. 692, can. 74, found itself forced to repeat the same regulation word for word).

[6] Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis quantum fieri potest prohibeantur.

[7] So for instance St Ambrose, according to Augustin, *Confess.* vi. 2.

[8] Cf. Basilius M. *Ep.* xciii.: (ἡμεῖς μέντοι γε τέταρτον καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τετράδι, ἐν παρασκευῇ καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ), Chrysostom, *Hom.* v. *in* 1 *Tim.*: (καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ καὶ ἐν σαββά-

but above all, on Sundays[1]. All present, if baptized and belonging to the community, regularly partook of it; while to all who were unintentionally and innocently absent, such as the sick and those in prison[2], it was carried from the Church by the clergy, mostly by the deacons[3] (see Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 65[4], Irenæus, *Epist. ad Victorin.*, Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24[5], and Cyprian, *Epist.* iv.[6]). It was not withheld even from those who were still on the roll of the *pœnitentes*, if dangerously ill, or at the point of death[7]

τῳ καὶ ἐν κυριακῇ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μαρτύρων ἡ αὐτὴ θυσία ἐπιτελεῖται), Ambros. *Expos. in Ps.* cxviii.: (Imo plerique sunt ejusmodi dies, ut statim meridianis horis adveniendum sit in ecclesiam, canendi hymni, celebranda oblatio), Augustin, *Ep.* Liv. § 2 (below, p. 250, n. 7), and *Concil. Laodic.* c. 49, and *Trull.* c. 52 (below, p. 250, n. 1). On this point of celebration the Churches were far from being in unison. All however agreed in celebrating the Holy Communion on Sundays.

[1] See the Justinian edict on the Sunday communion, *Apol.* i. c. Lxv. (below, n. 5, p. 258, &c.), and Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* c. iii., where, amongst the religious observances of Sunday, 'antelucanis cœtibus,' he expressly mentions 'eucharistiæ sacramentum;' and still later Gennadius Massil. *De Dogm. Eccl.* c. xxiii.: (Omnibus dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor). Moreover, all the passages already given in note 7, p. 247, support the fact of the Sunday communion.

[2] The Private Communion of the Sick thus derives its origin from the ancient Church. The modern observance however (the Lutheran Church has retained it, while the Reformed or Calvinistic communities are averse to its continuance) differs from the ancients in this respect, that they do not make it, as the latter did, simply an appendix, as it were, to the Public Communion.

[3] From any other hands than those of the clergy the Lord's Supper was never taken and received: (Eucharistiæ sacramentum ... nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.—Tertull. *De Cor. Mil.* c. iii.; cf. together with the later *Concil. Trull.* c. Lviii.: Μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν λαϊκοῖς τεταγμένων ἑαυτῷ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταδιδότω παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου). Only in cases of great emergency were exceptions to be found among the ancients. Thus, for instance, a boy gave to a dying man the consecrated bread, dipped in the wine —not however without the knowledge and permission of the priest, who was hindered from doing it himself (Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 44; s. n. 5). To such cases of emergency, not only in the instance of the Lord's Supper, but generally of the Sacraments, allusions are made by the *Concil. Trull.* c. 58.

[4] Τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσιν οἱ διάκονοι.

[5] He tells us here of Victor's predecessors in the see of Rome: Τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν.

[6] In this passage he speaks of presbyteri, qui illic (in carcere) apud confessores offerunt.

[7] Ὀδοιπόροιον, viaticum. — *Concil. Arausiac.* i. c. 3, cf. with *Concil. Nicæn.* c. 13.

(see the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 44[1], compared with *Concil. Nicæn.* can. 13[2], and *Concil. Carthag.* iv. *sive Statuta Eccl. Ant.* c. LXXVI.[3]).

In those places where people thought it necessary or salutary to partake daily of the Lord's Supper (cf. Tertullian, *de Orat.* c. vi.[4], and Cyprian, *de Orat. Domin.* p. 209[5]), it was usual to carry home a portion of the consecrated bread, which (not so much as a real communion, as rather a memorial of it) they partook of in company with their household, and so consecrated as it were the coming day. This was the practice in the Church of North Africa (see Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* ii. c. 5[6], and *de Orat.* c. 19[7], and Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, p. 189[8]). This kind of daily communion, which, as we have described it, was a kind of substitute for a public one[9], still subsisted in a few places as late as the

[1] He gives the account of one Serapion, a *sacrificatus*, who being extremely ill, sent in the nighttime for a priest, who being himself sick, sent by a boy a vicarious communion, ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ (*i. e.* the bishop Dionysius himself) δεδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοιντο,...ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται.

[2] "Ωστε, εἴ τις ἐξοδεύοι, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι.

[3] Is qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, si casu, dum ad eum sacerdos invitatus venit, oppressus infirmitate obmutuerit,...dent testimonium, qui eum audierunt, et accipiat pœnitentiam; et si continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manus impositionem et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia.

[4] Christus panis noster est... Itaque petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et individuitatem a corpore ejus.

[5] Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Quod potest et spiritaliter et simpliciter intelligi. ...Nam panis vitæ Christus est... Christus eorum, qui corpus ejus contingunt, panis est. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne, qui in Christo sumus et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus,...a Christi corpore separemur.

[6] Non sciet maritus (the heathen, that is), quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes. Et si sciverit panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur.

[7] He here mentions a Christian lady, who had carefully preserved the body of the Lord (accepto corpore Domini et reservato arca sua).

[8] Cyprian too, in speaking of a Christian woman, mentions arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit. (So too, in a work which has been ascribed to Cyprian, *De Spectaculis*, p. 341, there is mention of one who festinans ad spectaculum, dimissus e dominico et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam, inter corpora obscœna meretricum Christi sanctum corpus circumtulit).

[9] In like manner we also find mention in Ambrosius, *Oratio*

4th and 5th Centuries, when, however, in most instances, its place was taken by a daily public Communion[1], as, for instance, in Egypt (according to Basil the Great, *Epist.* xciii.[2], who indeed shews no indisposition himself to the practice of daily Communion [*ibid.*[3]]); and also in Spain[4] and Rome (cf. St Jerome, *Epist.* xlviii. *ad Pammach.*[5], and *Epist.* lxxi. *ad Lucin.*[6]). The case however with the Churches that now daily partook of the rite was not such as it had been at the beginning. Elsewhere it was the custom to communicate from time to time, as each was individually moved. In North Africa, in St Augustin's time, the Communion was celebrated daily in some churches; in others only on Sundays, or on Sundays and festivals (St Augustin, *Epist.* liv. *ad Januar.* § 2[7]); Augustin, in a true Christian spirit, recommends that in this matter every Church

Funebris in Fratrem (de Excessu Satyri Fratris), § 43, of consecrated communion bread being reserved and carried home for the sake of devotional uses at sea.

[1] It was properly a Church-communion that during the Quadragesimal fast, the brethren partook together on the other days the elements which were consecrated every Saturday and Sunday, and which, besides these days, might only be consecrated on the festival of the Annunciation: according to the *Concil. Laodic.* can. 49: (Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον), and *Concil. Trullan.* c. 52: (Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτὸς σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία). Cf. Leo Allatius, *De Missæ Præsanctificatorum* (in his work, *De Consensione Eccl. Or. et Occ. Perp.* Col. 1648. 4, p. 1531 sqq.).

[2] Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ τελούντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

[3] Τὸ κοινωνεῖν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καλὸν καὶ ἐπωφελές.

[4] The prohibitions however of the Council of Saragossa, c. 3: (Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesia non sumpsisse), and those of the first of Toledo, c. 14: (Si quis acceptam a sacerdote eucharistiam non sumpserit), have no reference to the practice of elevating rather than eating the consecrated bread, but to a secret Priscillianism (Manicheeism).

[5] Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant, quod nec reprehendo nec probo.

[6] De eucharistia, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romana ecclesia et Hispaniæ observare perhibentur cet.

[7] Alii quotidie communicant corpori ac sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt; alibi nullus dies prætermittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi sabbato tantum ac dominico, alibi tantum dominico; alibi tantum dominico, et si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest.

should retain its own customs[1]. So too Gennadius, of Marseilles, in the 5th Century, requires the Communion to be administered *at least* on Sundays[2] (*de Dogmat. Eccles.* c. xxiii.).

On the other hand, the custom had already grown up of communicating but seldom—as rarely even as once only in a year (see St Ambrose, *de Sacram. Verbi*, iv.[3]). St Chrysostom complains constantly of the infrequent attendance at the Communion (*e.g. Homil.* xvii. *in Ep. ad Hebraeos*, and *Homil.* iii. *in Ep. ad Eph.*[4]), and vehemently combats the erroneous opinion that it was only on high festivals that a blessing attended the act of communicating (*Homil.* iii. *in Eph.* i.[5], and *Homil.* v. *in Ep.* 1 *ad Tim.*[6]). From the East this evil habit extended to the West,

[1] Totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes, nec disciplina ulla est in his melior gravi prudentique Christiano, quam ut eo modo agat, quo agere viderit ecclesiam, ad quam forte devenerit. (Here, however, St Augustin seriously examined these several questions of practice, discussing the principles on which each was founded, l. l. § 3: Dixerit aliquis, non quotidie accipiendam eucharistiam. Quæsieris, quare cet. His conclusion on the question of daily communion was: Faciat unusquisque, quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum. Neuter enim eorum exhonorat corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed saluberrimum sacramentum certatim honorare contendunt ...Zachæus et ille centurio, cum alter eorum gaudens in domum suam susceperit Dominum, alter dixerit, non sum dignus, ambo Salvatorem honorificantes diverso et quasi contrario modo, ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti).

[2] Quotidie eucharistiæ communionem accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor.

[3] Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in oriente facere consueverunt? Accipe—he goes on to say, expressing his own opinion—quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit; sic vive, ut quotidie mererais accipere.

[4] But here he sets it forth clearly, that the important question for the communicant is not 'how often,' but 'how,' have I communicated? Πολλοί, he says in the former passage, τῆς θυσίας ταύτης ἅπαξ μεταλαμβάνουσι τοῦ παντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ δὶς, ἄλλοι δὲ πολλάκις...Οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μετέχουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο ἑτῶν. Τί οὖν; Τίνας ἀποδειξόμεθα, τοὺς ἅπαξ, τοὺς πολλάκις, τοὺς ὀλιγάκις; Οὔτε τοὺς ἅπαξ, οὔτε τοὺς πολλάκις, οὔτε τοὺς ὀλιγάκις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδήσεως, κ. τ. λ.

[5] Οὐ γὰρ Ἐπιφάνια, οὐδὲ τεσσαρακοστὴ ποιεῖ ἀξίους τοῦ προσιέναι, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εἰλικρινεία.

[6] Χρόνος προσόδου ἔστω ἡμῖν τὸ καθαρὸν συνειδός. οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχει τὸ ἐν τῷ πάσχα μυστήριον τοῦ νῦν τελουμένου. ἓν ἐστι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἡ αὐτὴ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις. ἀεὶ πάσχα ἐστίν.

where the Council of Agde (*Concil. Agathense*, A.D. 506), can. 18, in the hope of suppressing it, threatened with excommunication those who should not partake of the Lord's Supper on the three great festivals[1].

But besides this evil neglect of the Communion, the Church had, at a very early date, to oppose another, the departure of the non-communicants before the Communion[2], or perhaps even of the communicants before the termination of the whole service (see *Concil. Antiochen.* [A.D. 341], can. 2, and *Canon. Apostol.* c. 9[3]).

On the other hand, a superstitious opinion with regard to the Lord's Supper had at a very early date become so general, that in many parts the sacrament was administered even to the dead[4], a practice, against which the *Concil. Hippon.* [A.D. 393], can. 4[5], and still later that of Auxerre (*Concil. Autissiodorense*, circ. 580 A.D.[6]), made the most earnest remonstrances.

The ancient Church did not require any special *act of confession*, as a preparation for the Communion, while, on the other hand, the preachers were not wanting in earnest exhortations to right and due preparation. That something analogous to it existed in the first times of the Church, in the Apostles' special oversight, and also in the Church's earnest discipline, is quite clear. Moreover, the requirement of the ancient Church, that the Communion should be taken *fasting*[7], and also the exhortations to, and warn-

[1] Sæculares, qui in natali Domini, pascha et pentecoste non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur.

[2] The very irregularity which in many places is now become even a rule of the Church.

[3] Πάντας—is the regulation of the *Canones Apost.*—τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.

[4] Cf. J. A. Gleich, *De Eucharistia Moribundorum et Mortuorum.* Viteb. 1690.

[5] Placuit, ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino: Accipite et edite; cadavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere. (At the same time the council desired to guard against, if not to prevent, a consequence which might follow from this misuse of the Sacrament, and therefore went on to add: Cavendum est etiam, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat, quibus nec eucharistiam dari licitum est).

[6] Non licet mortuis nec eucharistiam nec osculum (the Church's *osculum pacis*) tradi.

[7] Ut sacramenta altaris non-

ings against, the unworthy partaking, with which the ancient liturgies abound[1], furnished a kind of substitute. The later practice of auricular confession[2]—as an integral part of the sacrament of penance in the Roman Church—is an undue extension and exaggeration of the principle, while that of private confession, as practised in the Lutheran Church, is but a return to the ancient wholesome discipline. The ultra-reformers, on the other hand, have with the abuse rejected also that which was both good and salutary.

The elements for the celebration of the Lord's Supper[3]—the bread and wine—were offered at the time by the congregation. And thereupon the bishop, in the name of the people, again offered them to God (*προσέφερεν, ἀνέφερεν, offerebat*[4]). On this account the Lord's Supper was called first of all a *προσφορά, oblation*, and subsequently also—by the adoption of a kindred notion, which however had a tendency to modify the original one—*sacrificium*, *θυσία* (see, for instance, Justin M. *Dialog.* p. 210[5]; Irenæus, *adv. Hæres.* iv. 18[6]; Cyprian, *Epist.* xxviii. 9, 11, 77, &c.[7], and

nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto cet.—*Concil. Hippon.* a. 393, can. 28, and *Carthag.* iii. a. 397, can. 29 (cf. with Chrysost. *Hom.* xxvii. *in* 1 *Cor.*: *Σὺ δὲ πρὶν ἢ μὲν μεταλαβεῖν νηστεύεις, ἵνα ὅπως δήποτε ἄξιος φανῇς τῆς κοινωνίας*).

[1] Principally the proclamation of the deacons for all unbelievers and heretics, and all hypocrites and unreconciled penitents, to depart, *Constitutt. Ap.* viii. 12, as well as the one which was preparatory to it, *ib.* viii. 9.

[2] First invested with the force of Church-law by pope Innocent III. at the Lateran Council, 1215 A.D. Cf. J. Dallæus, *De Sacramentali s. Auriculari Latinorum Confessione.* Genev. 1661.

[3] Cf. J. F. Buddeus, *De Symbolis Eucharisticis.* 1688, in his *Parerga Theol.* Hal. 1703. n. 2.

[4] On the quality and nature of the offering, see the regulations of *Canones Apost.* c. 3.

[5] *Εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, κ. τ. λ.*

[6] Oportet nos oblationem Deo facere, et in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricatori Deo, primitias earum quæ sunt ejus creaturarum offerentes. Et hanc oblationem ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus cet.

[7] Cf. J. W. F. Höfling, *Die Lehre Justins des M. vom Opfer*, u. s. w. Erl. 1839; Dess. *Die Lehre des Irenäus*, u. s. w. Erl. 1840; Dess. *Die Lehre des Clemens v. Alex.* u. s. w. 1842; Dess *Die Lehre Tertullians*, u. s. w. 1844; also Dess. *Origines Doctr. de Sacrificiis Christianor.* 2 PP. Erl. 1841.

also *Concil. Namnetense* [A.D. 896], c. 9[1]). The acceptance of the offering of a member of the congregation was an acknowledgment of communion and fellowship (see Cyprian, *Epist.* xxviii. compared with *Concil. Eliberitan.* [A.D. 305], can. 28[2], and *Concil. Carthag.* IV., *Statuta Eccl. Ant.* c. xciii.[3]). The names of all who made oblations were read out in the church by the deacon, during the administration (cf. Cyprian, *Epist.* LXII., *Concil. Eliberitan.* c. 29[4]; St Jerome, *in Jerem.* l. ii.[5], and *in Ezechiel.* l. vi.[6], and Innocentius, Episc. Rom. [circ. 400 A.D.] *ad Decent.* § 2[7]). The practice, however, ceased altogether by the 11th Century[8]. Unfortunately to the term sacrifice, which we previously mentioned, many other notions soon attached themselves, and have had great influence in theology[9], having, among other effects, led to the Roman doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass[10].

[1] Mention is made here of the oblationes, quæ offeruntur a populo,...et panes, quos offerunt fideles ad ecclesiam.

[2] Episcopos placuit ab eo, qui non communicat, munera non accipere debere.

[3] Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

[4] Energumeni nomen neque ad altare cum oblatione recitandum est.

[5] Nunc publice recitantur nomina offerentium, et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem.

[6] Publice diaconus in ecclesiis recitat offerentium nomina.

[7] Antequam precem sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet cet.

[8] The offering of the confession-money (Beichtgeld) of those who serve at the altar, would seem to be a perverted remnant of this custom.

[9] As in one respect the Communion may be regarded as the festival of oblation, in which the whole Church or congregation is ready to offer all that it has to the service of God, so in another and somewhat kindred sense (arising out of the bishop's Prayer of Thanksgiving and Consecration before the Communion), it may be looked upon as a spiritual thank-offering for the good things obtained through Christ, and appropriated in the Sacrament—or even as the sacramental thank-offering (the Eucharist) for the one oblation of Christ for the salvation of sinners, which by the gift of his body and blood to the Church, He is continually renewing, and which really keeps alive and maintains fellowship of those who are alive in the Lord and dead in Him.

[10] The Lord's Supper, as the sacrifice of the Christian priesthood, the unbloody repetition of Christ's bloody sacrifice, with a view to the keeping alive a perpetual representation of that sacrifice as the centre of the Christian life—and in particular—with reference to the prayers, which for so long a time have been associated with the Holy Communion—to keep alive the memory of the dead,

As we should expect, from the circumstances of its forming a portion of the offerings of the people, the *bread* was generally common bread, and therefore leavened (κοινὸς ἄρτος, according to Justin M. and Irenæus[1]; see also Ambros. *de Sacramentis*, iv. 4[2]; Innocentius, *Epist.* xxv.[3]; and also *Vita Gregorii M.* ii. 41[4], by John the Deacon, in the 4th Century). It was called also *panis oblatus*, or subsequently more briefly *oblata*[5] (see the first canon of the *Concil. Arelat.* v. A.D. 554[6]). It was not until much later that, in order to distinguish the most holy from the ordinary bread, and at the same time, in order to assimilate more closely to the Jewish paschal feast as celebrated by Christ, the use of unleavened bread was introduced in the West[7]. The earliest precise testimony to its use is that of Rabanus Maurus, in the 9th Century, *de Instit. Clericâ*, i. 31[8]. In the earliest ages none but the Ebionites—and they avowedly with Judaizing feelings—employed this kind of bread by preference (Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxx. 16[9]). Such feel-

but who in the fellowship of Christ are still alive—as an *oblatio*, a *sacrificium pro mortuis*. (See especially, Gregor. M. *Dialog.* iv. 58).

[1] Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν (although in itself it still was even *that*).—Justin, *Apol.* i. c. 65. See also Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* iv. 18 (that the consecrated bread οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος), below, p. 259, n. 4.

[2] Tu forte dicis: Meus panis est usitatus cet.

[3] Presbyteri fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt.

[4] He quotes the saying of a Christian woman: Panem, quem propriis manibus me fecisse cognoveram, tu corpus dominicum perhibebas.

[5] Cf. J. A. Schmid, *De Oblatis Eucharist. quæ hostiæ vocari solent.* Helmst. 1702, ed. 2, 1733.

[6] Oblatæ, quæ offeruntur in s. altario cet.

[7] The Greek Church adhered to the use of leavened bread, and regarded this difference as an essential one, seriously branding the Western Christians with the reproach of Judaism, and calling their practice the heresy of unleavened bread.—Among the reformed, some have followed the practice, though without adopting the views of the Greek Church.—Cf. J. Mabillon, *De Azymo et Fermentato* (in his *Opp. Posth.* Par. 1724. T. i. p. 101 sqq.), and J. G. Hermann, *Historia Concertatt. de Pane Azymo et Fermentato in Cœna Domini.* Lips. 1737.

[8] Quod autem panem sacrificii sine fermento esse oporteat, testatur liber Leviticus...Credimus ergo et panem illum, quem primum Dominus in cœna mystica in mysterium corporis sui consecravit, infermentatum esse, maxime cum in tempore paschæ nullum fermentum cuiquam vesci, sed nec in domo habere ulli minime licebat.

[9] Μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν τελοῦσι ...ἄνευ ἐζύμων (καὶ—he then goes on immediately to add—τὸ ἄλλο

ings, however, had nothing to do with its later adoption by the Western Church.

The other sacramental element—the *wine* (for which on ascetical principles, the Encratites, and also the Ebionites, substituted plain water[1]) — was generally, in compliance with the prevailing custom of taking it, mixed with water, and therefore called *κρᾶμα*[2]; a practice which, at an early period, received a mystical interpretation from Cyprian (*Epist.* LXIII. *ad Cæcilium.*[3]). Cyprian has been followed by the later Church by a variety of interpretations[4]. As their principles forbade the Manichees to make use of wine, they communicated only in one kind—bread (Leo M. *Sermo* XLI.[5]). To oppose this heretical practice, the ancient Catholic Church insisted the more strongly on communion in both kinds, *sub utraque specie*, and naturally required it of all her members (see St Chrysostom, *Hom.* XVIII. *in* 2 *Cor.*[6]);

μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου ἐι' ὕδατος μόνου).

[1] Τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου ἐι' ὕδατος μόνου τελοῦσι, says Epiphanius, *Hær.* XLVI. § 16, of the Encratitæ, as *Hær.* XXX. 16, of the Ebionites. [Schleiermacher on his death-bed adopted this practice].

[2] Ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος—Justin, *Apol.* I. c. 65; τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον—Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* V. 2.

[3] Quando in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur et credentium plebs ei, in quem credidit, copulatur...Nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si vero aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo: quando autem utrumque miscetur...tunc sacramentum spiritale et cœleste perficitur.

[4] So the modern Roman Church (*Catech. Rom.* II. 4. 15, and *Concil. Trident.* Sess. 22, cap. 7, and can. 9., partly adopting Cyprian's interpretation, and partly having regard to Christ's own example, no less than to the blood and water which flowed out of his side. The Greek Church also uses the mixed cup (*Confessio Orthodoxa*, p. 166), in order to have in the elements of the Lord's Supper a symbol of the Trinity. Against it Luther pertinently argues, *Lib. de Formul. Missæ, Opp. Lat.* T. II. p. 557: Merum vinum pulchre figurat puritatem doctrinæ evangelicæ. Deinde pro nobis non est fusus nisi solus sanguis Christi impermixtus nostro, cujus ibi memoriam facimus. Ut non stet illorum somnium, qui dicunt ibi figurari unionem nostri cum Christo: hujus unionis memoriam hic non facimus. And further he still more pertinently argues: Non res digna est contentione; pugnavit satis hanc pugnam stultam Romana et Græca ecclesia, ut et alias multas. However, the *κρᾶμα* is still generally used.

[5] Of those he says that ad tegendum infidelitatem suam nostris audent interesse mysteriis, ita... ut interdum...ore indigno corpus Christi accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent.

[6] Πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐ-

and yet it tolerated—and not without arbitrary caprice herein—an exception from this rule (not merely in the case of the private post-communion [see above p. 249] wherever it still subsisted, which however was not a real and perfect communion), but principally in the so-called *infantum eucharistiæ*[1], the necessity of which, the Church of North Africa and of the East overlooking the Apostle's precept (1 Cor. xi. 28, 29[2]), inferred from St John vi. 53[3]. In the Western Church the practice only continued till the 12th Century[4] (Augustin, *de Peccator. Meritis*, i. 20[5], compared with *Constituti. Apostol.* viii. 13[6]). In this Infant Communion the wine, as unsuited for children, was omitted (Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, p. 189[7]). It was only towards the end of the mediæval era, and not until after the Pope Paschal II. had solemnly remonstrated against such an innovation[8], that

τῶν (μυστηρίων). Οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ... θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν, ὧν μετεῖχεν ὁ ἱερεύς. Ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἓν σῶμα πρόκειται καὶ ποτήριον ἕν.

[1] Cf. P. Zorn, *Historia Eucharistiæ Infantum*. Berol. 1737, and C. E. Weismann, *De Præpostera Eucharistiæ Infantum Reductione*. Tub. 1744.

[2] The requirement of self-examination before communicating, and of discerning the Lord's body.

[3] Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. But if this passage be an authority for such a practice, it would also in the same degree be an authority for giving the cup likewise to children.

[4] While the modern Greek Church still administers the Communion to children as soon as they are baptized (Metrophanes Critopul. *Confess.* p. 28), the modern Roman Church, (*Catech. Rom.* II. 4, 62) and the Western Church generally have discontinued the practice. As long ago as 1175 A.D., Odo, archbishop of Paris, had forbidden, *Statuta Synodalia*, c. 39: Ne hostias, licet non sacratas, dent pueris ullo modo (sacerdotes).

[5] An vero—says St Augustin, with reference to this passage of St Joh. vi. 53—quisquam audebit hoc dicere, quod ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat?

[6] After the clergy the next to take the Lord's Supper εἶτα τὰ παιδία καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν.

[7] Cyprian mentions the particular case of a young girl among the communicants: Ubi solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit...faciem suam parvula...avertere, os labiis obturantibus premere, calicem recusare. Perstitit tamen diaconus et reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit. Tunc sequitur singultus et vomitus cet.

[8] Paschalis writes to Pontius, abbot of Clugny, A.D. 1110 (Mansi, *Concil.* XX. 1013): In sumendo corpore et sanguine Domini dominica traditio servetur, nec ab eo, quod Christus magister et præcepit et gessit, humana et novella institutione discedatur. Novimus

the Roman Church (and the Roman Church alone[1]) began to withhold the cup from the laity[2]—a *sacrilegium* which did not long remain an isolated one[3].

3 All that was regarded as essential to the administration of the Communion was at first extremely simple. We possess a faithful account of it from Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. c. 65. First of all was the *Common Prayer*[4]; then the kiss of brotherhood[5] (φίλημα ἅγιον, εἰρήνη, *osculum pacis*). Thereupon followed the bishop's blessing, the prayer of praise and thanksgiving (which was offered by a presbyter only in case of the bishop being prevented, see *Constitutt.*

enim per se panem, per se vinum ab ipso Domino traditum. Quem morem sic semper in s. ecclesia conservandum docemus ac præcipimus.

[1] The Greek Church has also preserved the Communio sub utraque (*Confessio Orthodoxa*, p. 168), only—in direct contradiction evidently to the original institution of the sacrament—it does not deliver both elements separately, but both together in a spoon (which custom—viz. of giving bread dipped in the wine—was in certain special cases practised in still earlier times; see Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 44, quoted above, p. 249). In the West, however, it was at a very early date prohibited [especially by the *Concil. Bracar.* iii. c. 2: Illud, quod pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc probatum ex evangelio testimonium recipit, ubi apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem commendavit; seorsum enim panis et seorsum calicis commendatio memoratur. Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum non præbuisse legimus excepto illo tantum discipulo, quem proditorem ostenderet].

[2] Cf. J. A. Schmid, *De Fatis Calicis Eucharistici.* Helmst. 1708; J. G. de Lith, *Disqu. de Adoratione Panis Consecr. et de Interdictione s. Calicis.* Suobac. 1573; G. Th. Spittler, *Geschichte des Kelchs im Abendmahle.* Lemgo. 1780.

[3] Intrinsically connected with this dogma, as their paramount principle (although not without a reciprocal and essential reference to the two other fundamental dogmas of the later Roman Church, with regard to the Lord's Supper, and which the modern Greek Church also shares—transubstantiation, viz. and the sacrifice of the mass), are all the other abuses with which the Roman Church has overloaded the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper — such as the profitable theory and the practice of silent masses, &c.—and also of solitary masses where the priest alone communicates, and of the so-called 'Eating the Mass,' &c. While, however, the ultra-reformers rejected all these extraneous abuses, they also at the same time threw away what forms the true essence and principle of the Holy Communion—the doctrine of the Real Presence, which, however, the Evangelical or Lutheran Church retains in its original purity and simple force.

[4] Ἀδελφοὶ κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτῶν, κ.τ.λ. is the opening of Justin's account.

[5] Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν.—Justin, l. l.

Apostol. viii., compared with Ignatius, *Epist. ad Smyrnæos*, c. viii.[1]), over the elements[2]. Which prayer (called *εὐχαριστια*—and giving also to the whole Communion, as an act of thanksgiving, the name of *εὐχαριστία*, Eucharist), consecrates the elements, and makes them the body and blood of Christ as testified not only by Firmilian of Cesarea, in the 3rd Century (the 75th Epist. among the Collection of Cyprian's letters[3]), but long before by Irenæus and Justin Martyr in the second, and also still earlier by Ignatius in the first[4]. At the conclusion of this prayer, the people responded 'Amen[5],' and thereupon the deacons administered the sacrament to all present[6] (or the priest the bread, and the deacon the cup[7], with appropriate words).

[1] Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.

[2] Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται.—Justin, l. l. (immediately after the words quoted p. 258, n. 5).

[3] Invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare panem et eucharistiam facere.

[4] Ὡς γάρ—says Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* iv. 18, 5—ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος, προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ (invocationem Dei), οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία [ὅπερ ἐστὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *ib.* l. v. c. 2, § 3], ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου, κ.τ.λ. And St Justin, l. l., at the close of the words we are about to quote (they follow those which are adduced in note 5, and also note 6): Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη (he had before said ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος) καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία....Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν... ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 7, speaks at least of a ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ.

[5] Οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων· Ἀμήν.—Justin, l. l. (immediately after the words cited in note 2).

[6] Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παρουσιν ἀποφέρουσιν.—Justin, l. l., after the passage quoted in n. 5.

[7] As clearly follows from other passages which we have already cited in our statement of the Diaconate, § 13, p. 51. See also below, at the close of the present section, p. 269, &c.

Since the 3rd Century the rite of administration has been lengthened, and its celebration accompanied with greater solemnity and ceremonial. Subsequently to this period we meet with several *Liturgies*[1] (λειτουργίαι), for the administration of the Eucharist, which after this date were first committed to writing, whereas before they had been preserved by oral tradition alone (Basilius M. c. xxvii.[2]). They differed in different Churches. Those of the East were the longest and fullest, and abounded in choral hymns and responses on the part of the people, which occurred in the intervals between the prayers alternately offered up by the bishop and the deacon. Those of the West on the contrary, whether with or without hymns and responses, were more concise. All alike however exhibit a common type, both of form (as regards the arrangement and order of the prayers), and of matter (as setting forth the real presence of the body and blood of Christ)[3]. Of these

[1] On the subject of all these ancient Liturgies, see F. A. Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*. Rom. 2 Voll. 1776. 78. 4; also C. M. Pfaff, *De Liturgiis, Missalibus, Agendis et Libris Ecclesiast. Orientalis et Occ., Vet. et Modernæ Eccl.* Tub. 1718 and 1721. 4, and especially J. A. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ*, 6 PP. in 13 Voll. Rom. 1749—66. 4. On the oriental Liturgies, consult E. Renaudot, *Liturgiar. Orientalium Collectio*, 2 Voll. Par. 1715. 16. 4; I. Habert, Ἀρχιερατικόν, *Lib. Pontif. Eccl. Gr.* Par. 1643 f.; Leo Allatius, *De Libris Ecclesiast. Græcorum*. Par. 1646. 4, and ed. J. H. Fabricius, Hamb. 1712. 4; Jac. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *s. Rituale Græcorum*. Par. 1648, and Ven. 1730; J. G. Janus, *De Liturg. Orientalib.* Viteb. 1724: also G. Cave, *De Libris et Offic. Eccl. Græcor.* in his *Hist. Lit. Scriptor. Eccl.* T. II. p. 20 sqq. On the Western: J. Pamelius, *Rituale Patrum Latinor.* 2 Voll. Col. 1571, 1675. 4: N. P. Sibborn, *De Libris Lat. Eccl. Liturgicis*. Viteb. 1705; A. Krazer, *De Apostolicis nec non Antiquis Ecclesiæ Occid. Liturgiis*. Aug. Vind. 1786. 8; and A. G. Gräser, *Die Römisch Katholische Liturgie, mit Rücksicht auf die älteren Litt.* Halle, 1829. 2 Th. On the Liturgies of particular Churches (and the Roman among them) see the following remarks. For an historico-critical view of the ancient Liturgies, see especially among modern writers, Bühmer, *Alterthumswissensch.* Bd. II. s. 196 ff.

[2] Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν κατέλιπεν; (...ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβοῦσιν...)

[3] If, notwithstanding the decidedly predominant, or rather dominant conviction, of all the fathers of the Church in the first six centuries (who undoubtedly maintained the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Communion), the history of opinions does nevertheless exhibit a few isolated traces of di-

Liturgies, the following are the principal: that which, bearing the name of the Liturgy of St James the Apostle, was in use in Palestine, and which (as preserved in the works of St Cyril of Jerusalem, and principally in his *Catech. Mystagog.* v.[1]), bears a close resemblance to the beautiful Liturgy in the 8th Book of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (see especially viii. 12); the Liturgy of the Cappadocian Church in Asia Minor[2]; the Syrian Liturgy, preserved by St Chrysostom[3]; the Alexandrian Liturgy in use in Egypt, and assigned to the Evangelist St Mark[4]; that of the North African Church[5], as described by St Augustin (see especially *Sermo* ccxxvii., and also *Epist.* ccxvii. *ad Vitalem*, &c.), and which, in all essential respects, had been previously given by St Cyprian (*de Orat.* ccxiii.[6]);

vergent views and modes of expression (against which however must be set the numberless passages—several have been already quoted as occasion called for them—of the fathers which speak of the consecrated elements simply as Christ's body and blood: still there is not a single one of all the ancient Liturgies which contains the slightest vestige of any doctrine or belief opposed to the above-mentioned unvarying teaching of the Church. For instance (not to speak of the forms of distribution, which will presently be adduced), according to the *Liturgia Jacobi*, the bishop before partaking himself prays: 'Make me worthy of this thy mercy, that so I may without condemnation be a partaker of thy sacred body, and of thy precious blood.' In the *Post-Communion* a deacon prays: 'We give thanks to thee, Christ our God, that thou hast thought us worthy to be partakers of thy body and blood for the remission of sins and everlasting life; Preserve us, we beseech thee, from damnation,' &c. And the bishop, 'Oh God, who in the communion of the blessed body and precious blood of thine only-begotten Son Jesu Christ, hast granted to us to be partakers of thy holiness, bestow upon us, we beseech thee, the grace of thy good Spirit.' &c. Similar passages, without number, are to be found in all the ancient Liturgies.

[1] It is expressly ascribed to James the ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, by the *Concil. Trull.* can. 32. See on this subject, especially, Renaudot, u. s. *Dissertatio de Liturgiarum Orientalium Origine et Ætate*, p. 32 sqq.

[2] Identical with the one ascribed to St Basil the Great, by the *Concil. Trull.* c. 32, and by the African deacon Peter in the 6th Century, *De Incarnat. et Gratia Christi*, c. 8. It is to be found in Renaudot, *Coll.* T. i. p. 75, and Goar, l. l. p. 135 sqq., while moreover Gregory Nazianz. *Orat.* xx. mentions, to the merit of St Basil, the εὐχῶν διατάξεις.

[3] The fragments of it are given from St Chrysostom by Bingham, *Origines*, T. v. p. 195 sqq.

[4] In Renaudot, l. l. T. i. p. 131 sqq. It exhibits a great affinity to that of Dionys. Areopagita, *de Ecclesiast. Hierarchia*.

[5] Cf. Pomelius, l. l. T. i. p. 509 sqq.

[6] And ut preces, quæ probatæ

several Roman Liturgies[1]—the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*[2], *Gelasianum*[3], *Gregorianum*[4]—the latter of which (in its principal part, the *canon missæ*[5]) was adopted (not however by any express command of Gregory himself[6]) in the English Church, and subsequently in all the Churches of the West, as the only correct form for the administration of the mass; the ancient Gallican[7], which is found in Gregory of Tours, and other writers[8]; the ancient Spanish[9] Liturgies (and among these the so-called[10] *Officium*

fuerint in concilio (cf. *Concil. Hippon.* c. 21),....ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino contra fidem proferantur, sed quæcunque a prudentioribus fuerint collatæ dicantur, was the earnest decree of *Concil. Carthag.* a. 407, c. 9, for the North-African Church.

[1] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus, tria Sacramentaria Complectens, Leonianum, Gelasianum et Antiquum Gregorianum.* Venet. 2 Voll. 1748. fol.

[2] Of Leo the Great: first of all published as *Codex Sacramentorum Vet. Rom. Ecclesiæ a s. Leone P. Confectus* in J. Blanchini, *Prolegom.* in *Anastas. Biblioth.* T. IV. Rom. 1735 f.; then specially in Ballerini, *Opp. Leonis*, T. II.

[3] First published by J. M. Thomasius, *Codd. Sacramentorum ...Prim. Eccl. Rom., Vet. Gallicanæ.* Rom. 1680 f.

[4] First published by Pamelius, l. l., and also in H. Menardus, *Gregorii M. Sacramentarium.* Par. 1642. 4. Cf. also F. A. Zaccaria, *De Antiphonarii et Sacramentarii Gregoriani auctore*, in his *Bibl. Rit.* T. III. p. 211, sqq.

[5] Cf. M. C. Lilienthal, *De Can. Missæ Gregor.* Lugd. B. 1740. 8.

[6] Gregory (of whom see Johannes Diac. *Vita Gregorii* II. 17, informs us that Gelasianum codicem de missarum solemniis multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla superadjiciens...in unius libri volumine coarctavit) was very far from ascribing to his liturgical labours the high praise which it soon received from all quarters. To St Augustin, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, he wrote (see Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*): Mihi placet, ut sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua quæ de multis eccll. colligere potuisti, infundas.

[7] Even at the time of Gregory the Great, very different from that of Rome. (Cf. Gregor. *Ep.* XI. 64: Cum una sit fides, diversæ sunt ecclesiarum consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum est in Rom. eccl., altera in Galliarum ecclesiis tenetur).

[8] First published by J. M. Thomasius, l. l.; then separately by J. Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana.* Par. 1729. 4 (viz. 1. the *Missale Gothicum*, 2. *Missale Francorum*, 3. *Missale Gallic. vetus*).

[9] *Liturgia Antiqua Hispana, Goth.-, Mozarab., Isidor., Tolet., mixta.* Ed. J. Pinius, 2 Voll. Rom. 1749 f.—See also Pinius, *Tractatus Hist. Chronol. de Lit. Antiqua Hisp.* Antv. 1729 f.

[10] Not even the canon of the *Concil. Tolet.* IV. c. 2 (Per omnem Hispaniam...unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus conservetur, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo) was able to abolish this diversity.

Mozarabicum[1] deserves especial notice); and also several others[2].

Subsequently to the 3rd Century, the mode of administering the holy Sacrament, as concerns all essential matters, was generally[3] as follows[4]. According to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, after a preliminary exhortation, it began with a prayer for the peace and welfare of the whole world, the Church, and the bishop, during which the people all knelt[5]. Then, when the deacon had exhorted the people to lift up their hearts, and to attention (προσχῶμεν! *Constit. Ap.* viii.), the bishop offered the prayer for peace (ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν), to which the people answered (καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου). Then the deacon invited them to the kiss of peace[6], which all (children excepted) exchanged, the clergy with the bishop, and among the laity the men with men, and women with women[7].

[1] First published at the suggestion of cardinal Ximenes by A. Ortizius, *Missale mixtum*. Tol. 1500; and last of all by A. Lesley, Rom. 1755. 4, and by F. A. Lorenzana, Rom. 1804 f. (With respect to the name, the *Mostarabes*—according to Gâmûs and Gauhâri—are the tribes who dwelt in the midst of the Arabians without belonging to them, and consequently the *Officium Mostarabicum* or *Mozarab.* would be the liturgy of the Christians dwelling in the Arabian territory.

[2] Traces of a Cyprian Liturgy are to be found in Epiphanius, *Epist. ad Joh. Hieros. Opp.* T. II. p. 313; and of that of the Alemanni (s. Mart. Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemann.* 1766. 4); u. a.

[3] For in words the ancient liturgies do not, it is true, agree.

[4] Chiefly after the order and contents of the Liturgy in the *Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 9 sqq., compared however with some others of the very oldest.

[5] The deacon calls for the removal of the pœnitentes (*Const. Ap.* viii. 9): Μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων προελθέτω. Ὅσοι πιστοί, κλίνωμεν γόνυ, δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Πάντες συντόνως τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παρακαλέσωμεν. Then the prayer itself, *Const.* viii. 10.

[6] Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.—*Const.* viii. 11. (This custom is also expressly mentioned by Chrysostomus, *Homil.* xviii. *in 2 Cor.*, as also by Augustin, *Contra Lit. Petil.* ii. 23: [Cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis]; so too *Sermo* ccxxvii. [although here it occurs in a later part of the service: Post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei...dicimus orationem dominicam. Post ipsam dicitur Pax vobiscum, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.]) —This custom of giving the kiss of charity in the Communion, has, among modern communities, been preserved only by that of the Hernhutters or Moravians, by whom it has been revived.

[7] Καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν οἱ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οἱ λαϊκοὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς λαϊκούς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ παιδία δὲ στη-

Upon this (according to St Chrysostom) the church-doors were shut, and water was handed to the officiating priest, or bishop, for him (according to Cyril of Jerusalem) symbolically to wash his hands. Then followed the solemn charge of the deacon, enjoining all unbaptized persons, all unbelievers and heretics, all unreconciled penitents and hypocrites, to abstain from communicating, and requiring of all who are about to communicate purity of heart in the sight of the Lord (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 12[1]). The oblations of the communicants—the elements of the Lord's Supper—are now brought to the altar, and the priests assemble round the bishop, who, magnificently apparelled, stands in front of the altar[2]. Then, making the sign of the cross[3], the bishop prays for God's grace on the people, to which they answer as before[4]. Then to the bishop's exhortation 'Lift up your hearts,' they responded, 'We lift them up unto the Lord[5],' and upon his saying, 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord,' the response was made, 'It is meet and right so to do[6].' Hereupon the bishop offered up the long prayer of thanksgiving, both general and eucharistic, which was closed by the Trisagion (*Sanctus*) on the part of the congre-

κέτωσαν πρὸς τῷ βήματι.—*Constt.* l. l.

[1] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων· μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων·...μή τις κατά τινος, μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· ὀρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν.

[2] *Constt.* l. l.: Οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ ὦρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων στηκέτωσαν. Two deacons—it goes on—come forward at each end of the table to assist in the ministration; the Bishop λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδὺς, stands before the altar.

[3] Τὸ τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ... τῇ χειρὶ ποιησάμενος εἰς πάντας. —*Constt.* l. l.

[4] Ἡ χάρις τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ., καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔστω μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. Καὶ πάντες συμφώνως λεγέτωσαν, ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

[5] Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν. —Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. — *Constt.* l. l. (According to the *Lit. Jacobi*: ἄνω τὰς καρδίας.—According to Chrysost. περὶ μετανοίας, *Opp.* II. 349: ἀνασχώμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας.—According to Cyprian, *De Oratt.* p. 213: *Sursum corda!* Resp.: *Habemus ad Dominum.*—According to Augustin, *Sermo* cexxvii. *ad Infant. de Sacramentis*: Cum dicitur *Sursum cor!* respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum*).

[6] Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ. —Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.—*Constt.* l. l. and *Lit. Jac.* (According to Augustin, l. l.: Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.—Dignum et justum est).

gation[1]. Now came—as the sum and centre of the whole ministration—the oblation (*ἀναφορά, προσφορά, oblatio*) of the elements by the bishop (or in his stead by a priest—but never by a deacon[2]), accompanied with their *consecratio*, or *ἁγιασμός*, by a prayer of consecration[3]. Of which, after an *Introit*[4], came the principal part, the recitation (with blessing and thanksgiving[5], and at the same time with the signing of the cross over the elements) of the words of institution—the essential part according to the Oriental and also the Occidental Liturgies[6]; for, as St Ambrose says,

[1] This thanksgiving, according to *Const. Ap.* VIII. 12 (it too concluding with *ἅγιος, ἅγ., ἁγ. Κύριος Σαβαὼθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*) is given in full in Rheinwald, *Archäologie*, p 477, &c.—Substantially the same account is given by Cyril, *Catech. Myst.* v. § 5, 6, and Chrysost. *Hom.* xviii. *in 2 Cor.*—(See also the regulation of the *Concil. Vasense* II. a. 529, c. 3: Ut Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus in omnibus missis dicatur!)

[2] See the passage quoted above, § 13, p. 51.

[3] This prayer of Consecration, according to *Constt.* VIII. 12, is also to be found in Rheinwald, p. 481 f. and 484 f.

[4] It thus runs in the *Liturgia Mostarabica*: Adesto, adesto, Jesu bone pontifex in medio nostri, sicut fuisti in medio discipulorum tuorum, sancti✝fica hanc oblationem, ✝ ut sanctificata ✝ sumamus per manus sancti angeli tui, sancte Domine ac redemptor æterne. Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in qua nocte cet.

[5] Consequently not spoken for any mere purpose of edification, or merely to be listened to, but specifically and really for the consecration of the elements of the Lord's Supper, by the Almighty Word of the Lord: *ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα*, as Cyrillus, *Myst. Cat.* V. says, *ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ.*

[6] According to *Constt. Ap.* VIII. 12, this recitation thus runs: *Ἐν ᾗ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο, λαβὼν ἄρτον ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀμώμοις αὐτοῦ χερσὶ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς σὲ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, καὶ κλάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπών· τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριόν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης· λάβετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν θρυπτόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἁγιάσας, ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὅσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ πίνητε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω.*—According to Ambrosius, *De Sacram.* IV. 5: Qui (J. Chr.) pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in cœlum ad te, sancte pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro multis confringetur. Similiter etiam calicem, postquam cœnatus

(*de Sacramentis*, iv. 4), *Sermo Christi facit sacramentum*[1]. During the consecration all the people stood (*Constitutt. Apostol.* xi. 57[2]). Then the consecrating priest or bishop holds up, uncovered, the bread and wine[3], and shews it to the people as the body and blood of Christ[4]. Next follow[5] the prayers of intercession for the whole Church and its ministers, for the Emperor and all kings[6], for all governors and soldiers, for all Christians then present, for the city and its inhabitants, for those in affliction, or under persecution, for all catechumens and neophytes, for penitents and those possessed, for all the absent members of the Church, for enemies, for all the excommunicated[7], and, lastly, for all who had died in the communion of the

est cet.—The position of these words is, it is to be remarked, by no means the same in all the Liturgies no more than in the case of the *Introitus*.

[1] Ubi venitur—it had been previously said—ut conficiatur sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur serm. Christi.

[2] ...ἑστῶτος παντὸς λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένου ἡσύχως.

[3] The ἀνάδειξις τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, as Basilius M. *de Spir. S.* c. 27, says.

[4] Τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα ... ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα, ἅπερ πιστεύεται, according to Theodoret, *Dialog.* II. *Inconfusus*, *Opp.* T. II. p. 126.

[5] In this case too there is also some divergence of order in the several Liturgies.

[6] Sacrificamus pro salute imperatorum, is said even in his day by Tertullian, *Ad Scapul.* c. ii.

[7] According to Cyril, *Myst. Cat.* v. 8, 9: ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων.—According to Chrysost. *Hom.* ii. *in* 2 *Cor.*: ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ πρεσβυτέρων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης.—According to Ambrosius, l. l.: pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris.—According to Augustinus, *Epist.* cxvii. *ad Vital.*: pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, pro catechumenis, ut eis desideriam regenerationis inspiret, pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent. Itis given still more at large in *Constitt. Ap.* VIII. 12: ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων...ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὀρθοτομούσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενείας, ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου...ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δοξάζωμέν σε...ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων... ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, ἵνα ἀναδείξῃς αὐτὸν εἰς ἔπαινον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα ...ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἁγ-

faith, but who in Christ were still alive[1]—which petition was generally accompanied with a recitation of such members of the congregation as had fallen asleep in Christ, especially of its bishops, their names being written in the diptychs, or sacred records of the Church[2]. These prayers the people sealed by their '*Amen.*' Then followed the Lord's Prayer[3]. (The *Constitutt. Apostol.* are singular in making no mention of it, while in a few other Liturgies its place is either earlier or later[4]). Upon the dea-

νεία, ὑπὲρ τῶν χηρῶν...ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σεμνοῖς γάμοις καὶ τεκνογονίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων τοῦ λαοῦ σου....ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀῤῥωστίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἐξορίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν δημεύσει, ὑπὲρ πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων...ὑπὲρ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω ὄντων καὶ πεπλανημένων....ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν... ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν...καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν δι' εὔλογον αἰτίαν ἀπόντων, ὅπως ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς διατηρήσας ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ ἐπισυναγάγῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ.

[1] According to *Constitt. Ap.* l. l.: Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν καὶ πάντων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα.—According to Cyrillus, *Cat. Myst.* v. 9: Εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξηται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν· εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων.—According to Chrysostomus, *Hom.* xli. *in* 1 *Cor.*: Μνήμην ποιούμεθα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόσιμεν, δεόμενοι τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ λαβόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου...Ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ προκεκοιμημένων.—Also Augustin, *De Cura Pro Mortt.* c. 1, 4, mentions that, in precibus sacerdotis, quæ Deo ad ejus altare funduntur, locum suum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum ...quas supplicationes faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia.

[2] See on this subject C. A. Salig, *De Diptychis Veterum, tam Profan., quam Sacris.* Hal. 1731, and Böhmer, *Alterthumswissenschaft*, II. 225 ff.

[3] Cf. E. F. Wernsdorf, *De Antiquitate Consecrat. Eucharist. per Orat. Domin.* Viteb. 1772.

[4] In every Liturgy with the exception of that in the *Constt. Ap.* the Lord's Prayer occurs, though not universally in the same place. Cf. Cyril, *Myst. Cat.* v. 11; Augustin, *Sermo* ccxxvii.: (Post sanc-

con saying Προσχῶμεν! to the bishop's 'Holy to the Holy' (ἅγια ἁγίοις[1]), the people answered (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 13), Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, εἰς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Then came the longer doxology[2], and after it the distribution immediately commenced; during which it was usual to sing Psalms (and particularly the 34th[3], according to *Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 13; according to the Palestine Liturgy (Cyril, l. l. § 20), most especially the 9th verse[4]; and according to other Liturgies, certain other Psalms[5]), and the short doxology[6]. All the congregation came forward and partook[7]; the clergy, first communicating in the order of their ecclesiastical rank (*Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 13[8], compared with *Concil. Nicæn.* can. 18[9]), within the rails of the

tificationem sacrificii Dei, quia nos ipsos voluit esse sacrificium suum, ...dicimus orationem dominicam); Gregor. M. *Epistt.* ix. 12: (Orationem dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent), &c. According to Gregory's statement, *ib.* the Lord's Prayer was in the East recited by the whole congregation, but in the West by the priest alone: (Dominica oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote), and according to *Concil. Tolet.* iii. c. 2, it was preceded by the recitation of the Nicene Creed: (symbolum fidei...ut prius quam dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara prædicetur, quo et fides vera manifestum testimonium habeat et ad Christi corpus et sang. prælibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant).

[1] According to *Constt. Ap.* viii. 12, as also after Cyril, l. l. § 19, Chrysost. *Homil.* xvii. *in Hebr.*, also the Mosarabic Liturgy, &c.

[2] Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. Θεὸς Κύριος, καὶ ἐπεφάνη ἡμῖν. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. *Constt.* viii. 13.—In Spain this Doxology was used, just before the consecration, in Rome still earlier.

[3] I will always give thanks unto the Lord; His praise shall be ever in my mouth.

[4] 'Taste and see how gracious the Lord is.'

[5] According to Hieronym. *Epist.* lxxi. *ad Lucin.* Ps. xlv. 2: My heart is inditing a good matter [ein feines Lied, a lovely song, is Luther's version; λόγον ἀγαθὸν that of the Sept.]

[6] According to the Mœsarabic Liturgy.

[7] The reverential manner of receiving it is described by Cyril, l. l. § 21. (Among other things: προσέρχου τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν).

[8] Μεταλαμβανέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ οἱ ἀναγνῶσται, καὶ οἱ ψάλται.

[9] The Canon condemns it as an abuse in some places, 'that deacons administer the Sacrament

bema[1]; next to them the ascetics, the deaconesses, virgins, and widows partook[2]; afterwards, the rest of the congregation devoutly, orderly and quietly. Wherever Infant Communion was practised, the children[3], and in that case very young children, preceded the rest of the laity. The bishop or priest (and in cases of necessity even a deacon[4]) distributed the bread with the words—not employed in a merely commemorative sense, but as a testimony and a confession of the Church—Σῶμα Χριστοῦ (*this is Christ's body*), upon which the recipient (likewise testifying his faith in the real presence of Jesus Christ) answered 'Amen[7].' A deacon[6] delivered the cup, with the words, Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς! The recipient answered 'Amen[7].' In the Liturgy of St Mark[8], the words of distribution were, Σῶμα ἅγιον, αἷμα τίμιον, τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν! In the time of St Gregory the usual formula was: *Corpus Domini nostri conseret animam tuam*[9]! According to the statement of the *Concil. Turonic.* I. [A.D. 460[10]] it ran thus: *Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi in remissionem peccatorum, et in vitam æternam!* The historical

to priests.' Such, it says, as ought not to consecrate (*τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν*), ought not to give the body of Christ to those who might so do (*τοῖς προσφέρουσιν*).

[1] Sacerdos et levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus—are the words of the later *Concil. Tolet.* IV. c. 17.

[2] Καὶ—the *Constt.* VIII. 13, goes on immediately after the words quoted above, p. 268, n. 8, —*οἱ ἀσκηταὶ καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι.*

[3] Εἶτα—it then goes on—*τὰ παιδία, καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἄνευ θορύβου* (*ὡς βασιλέως προσερχόμενοι σωματι*, as is said by the same *Constt. Ap.* II. 57, where however they also require that *αἱ γυναῖκες κατακεκαλυμμέναι τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὡς ἁρμόζει γυναικῶν τάξει, προσερχέσθωσαν*).

[4] Regularly, according to Justin, *Apol.* I. c. 65, but according to later authorities only occasionally. See above, § 13, p. 51, n. 1.

[5] The custom to *εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀμήν*, is mentioned as early as the 3rd Century, by Cornelius, bishop of Rome, in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43, from which we may infer that either this form of distribution, or one expressly similar, was then in use.

[6] This he was at all times allowed to do: see above, p. 51.

[7] See also the words of St Cyril of Jerusalem already quoted, p. 268, n. 7.

[8] Renaudot, I. I. I. 162.

[9] S. Johann. Diac. *Vita Greg.* II. 41, with his description of Gregory administering the sacrament to a woman with these words. Cf. above, p. 255, n. 4.

[10] Mansi, VII. 950.

recitation of the words of institution were never employed by any part of the ancient Church during the distribution[1]. The words of the Lord, it was clearly felt, belonged to the consecration, and the confession of the Church to the distribution. Far indeed from the mind of the ancient Church was the idea of converting a confession in honour of Christ during the distribution into a recitation, adopted designedly with a view to getting rid of it, and therefore converting it in fact into a refusal to confess, and in so far dishonouring Him; such an idea, springing from a disbelief of the unconditional truth of the plain words of the Lord Himself, and from a desire to humour a false charity, by leaving it free to the conscience of individuals to hold or to reject their verity, would by the ancient Church have been regarded as nothing less than satanical.

The distribution of the elements being finished, the service was concluded (according to the *Constitutt. Apostol.* viii. 13, and also the other Liturgies[2]) by hymns and by thanksgivings offered up by the bishop and the deacon[3]. These being ended, the deacon called upon the people to kneel, and receive the blessing (*Constitutt. Apost.* viii. 15[4]), which the bishop delivered in the form of a prayer[5]; after

[1] The new formulary used by the United Church of Prussia.

[2] See also Augustin, *Epist.* cxlix. § 15: Participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio omnia concludit.

[3] Ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω, παυσαμένου τοῦ ψάλλοντος· Μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν, μὴ εἰς κρίμα, ἀλλὰ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.—*Constt.* l. l. Then at the close what is properly the Thanksgiving Prayer of the bishop, with a compendious summary of all the previous prayers: Ὁ χωρίσας ἡμᾶς τῆς τῶν ἀσεβῶν κοινωνίας, ἕνωσον ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν καθωσιωμένων σοι, στήριξον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσει,... τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀμώμους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατήρησον ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ,...τὸν λαόν σου ἁγίασον... τὰ νήπια ἄδρυνον, τοὺς νεοτελεῖς βεβαίωσον, τοὺς ἐν κατηχήσει παίδευσον καὶ τῆς μυήσεως ἀξίους ἀνάδειξον· καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[4] Ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω· Τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

[5] The blessing, *Constitt. Ap.* viii. 15, closes with the following

which the deacon dismissed the congregation with the words, 'Depart in peace' (*ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ*).

Sect. XXXIII.—APPENDIX.

MARRIAGE AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

1 The Christian view of marriage[1]—(see Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, ii. 8[2]), as being in itself simply an earthly, although divinely-appointed, union, but nevertheless containing at the same time the germ of a higher spiritual signification[3]—en-

words: *Ἐπάκουσόν μου διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τοὺς σοι κεκλικότας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν αὐχένας, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀπόβλητον ποιήσῃς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἀλλὰ ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς... τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους φρούρησον· ὅτι σοι δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, σέβας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

[1] Cf. J. Hildebrand, *De Nuptiis et Natalitiis Veterum Christianorum*. Helmst. 1656, 1713, 1717, 1733; J. Emmerich, *Tract. De Sponsalibus et Matrimon. Sacr.* Erf. 1747; also C. Kortholt, *De Necessitate Consecrationis Nuptialis*. Kil. 1690; and (C. W. Flügge) *Geschichte der Christlichen Einsegnung und Copulation der Ehen*. Lüneb. 1805.

[2] Quale jugum fidelium duorum unius spei, unius voti, unius disciplinæ, ejusdem servitutis! Ambo fratres, ambo conservi, nulla spiritus carnisve discretio, atquin vere duo in carne una. Ubi caro una, unus et spiritus, simul orant, simul volutantur, simul jejunia transigunt, alterutro docentes, alterutro hortantes, alterutro sustinentes. In ecclesia Dei pariter utrique, pariter in convivio Dei, pariter in angustiis, in persecutionibus, in refrigeriis. Neuter alterum celat, neuter alterum vitat, neuter alteri gravis est. Libere æger visitatur, indigens sustentatur. Eleemosynæ sine tormento, sacrificia sine scrupulo, quotidiana diligentia sine impedimento. Non furtiva signatio, non trepida gratulatio, non muta benedictio. Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo suo cantet. Talia Christus videns et audiens gaudet. His pacem suam mittit. Ubi duo, ibi et ipse; ubi et ipse, ibi et malus non est.

[3] This, founded on Christ's own declaration, is the Apostle St Paul's view of marriage, and exactly in this light does the father of the reformed condition of the Church, Martin Luther, incidentally regard it. With due moderation, while he vindicates to it its civil character in opposition to all exaggerated and superstitious views of it, he still does not deny its blessedness as a divinely-instituted state—having in a holy Christian wedlock experienced all its rich blessedness. See Luther's Marriage Service in the German edition of the *Concordienbuch*, and

tailed by a necessary consequence its ratification by a religious ceremony. The observance of it was not, however, at first enforced by any legal obligation[1]. The advice of the clergy (and especially of the deaconesses) was generally sought (Ignatius, *Epist. ad Polycarp.* c. v.[2], and Tertullian, *de Monogam.* c. xi., and *de Pudicitiâ*, c. iv.[3]). The bride and bridegroom took together the holy Communion, after which the bishop bestowed his blessing on the newly-married couple (Tertul. *ad Uxor.* ii. 8[4]) (the latter soon giving rise to certain ascetical requisitions; see *Statuta Eccles. Antiquæ Concil. Carthag.* iv. (A.D. 398) c. 13[5]). The variously interpreted marriage-customs of crowning and of veiling the bride, which certainly were not of an exclusively Christian character, were at first prohibited by the Church as heathenish (Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* c. xiii., and *de Virgg. Veland.* c. xi.[6]). Having however subsequently received innocent interpretations,—the crowning being, according to St Chrysostom (*Homil.* ix. *in 1 Tim.*[7]), the symbol of triumphant resistance to lust, and of the preservation of chastity, and so forth—they were adopted by Christians. The use of the ring too, as employed in the betrothals both of Jews and Heathens (*annulus nuptialis*), was at a very early date allowed by

his Sermon on the married life. Werke, Leipz. Aug. Th. xxii. s. 196.

[1] The Emperor Leo, *Nov.* lxxxix., was the first to give it this sanction.—By Luther's marriage-book, the Church's blessing of the marriage-vow is left to the free discretion of Christians, and to the voluntary choice of the contracting parties.

[2] Πρέπει τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν.

[3] In the latter passage he speaks of conjunctiones prius ad ecclesiam professæ, in the former, of postulare matrimonium ab episcopo, a presbyteris et diaconis, a viduis. (Conjungent vos in ecclesia).

[4] In this passage he praises matrimonium, quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio et obsignat benedictio.

[5] Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt a sacerdote, a parentibus suis vel paranymphis offerantur; qui cum benedictionem acceperint, eadem nocte pro reverentia illius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant.

[6] Coronant—he observes in the first passage *de Cor. Mil.*—nuptiæ sponsos; ideo non nubamus ethnicis, ne nos ad idololatriam usque deducant. Virgines—in his epistle to the latter, *De Virgin. Velandis*—apud ethnicos velatæ ad virum ducuntur.

[7] Διὰ τοῦτο στέφανοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐπιτίθενται, σύμβολον τῆς νίκης, ὅτι ἀήττητοι γενόμενοι οὕτω προσέρχονται τῇ εὐνῇ, ὅτι μὴ κατηγωνίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Christians (Tertull. *Apologet.* c. vi.[1]), and according to Isidore of Seville (*de Officiis Eccles.* c. vi.), it was a symbol of mutual truth, and intimate union[2]. On the other hand, the Church steadily and earnestly remonstrated against all unseemly practices such as dancing, music, and foolish joking[3] (cf. *Concil. Laodic.* [circ. 360], can. 53, 54[4], and Chrysostom, *Homil.* xlviii. *in Genes.*[5], and others[6]). The *Concil. Agathense* [A.D. 506], can. 39, went so far as to forbid the clergy to be present at a marriage-feast[7].

The spiritual view of wedlock naturally led the ancient Church to look with an unfavourable eye upon all *mixed marriages*, i. e. between Christians and non-Christians, heretics and true believers. For it was felt that wherever such disagreement subsisted on the highest and holiest matters there the Christian interpretation of the marriage-tie was out of place (see Tertull. *ad Uxor.* xi. 4, 5[8], and for a later

[1] Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignorasset pronubo annulo.

[2] Illud vero quod imprimis annulus a sponso sponsæ datur, fit hoc vel propter mutuæ fidei signum vel propter id magis, ut eodem pignore eorum corda jungantur.

[3] All such customs as these, as being more or less connected with the theatre, were most revolting to the stern severity of the ancient Christians. Thus St Cyprian says, *De Spectac.* p. 341: Inter corpora obscœna meretricum Christi sanctum corpus circumferre.

[4] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς εἰς γάμους ἀπερχομένους βαλλίζειν ἢ ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ σεμνῶς δεῖπνεῖν ἢ ἀριστᾶν, ὡς πρέπει Χριστιανοῖς. — Οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικοὺς ἢ κληρικούς τινας θεωρίας θεωρεῖν ἐν γάμοις ἢ δείπνοις, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσέρχεσθαι τοὺς θυμελικοὺς ἐγείρεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν.

[5] Ἐνταῦθα — so Cyprian asserts to the honour of Isaac and Rebecca's wedding — σκόπει μοι, πῶς οὐδαμοῦ πομπὴ διαβολικὴ, οὐδαμοῦ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ χορεῖαι, καὶ τὰ σατανικὰ ἐκεῖνα συμπόσια καὶ αἱ λοιδορίαι αἱ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης γέμουσαι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα σεμνότης, πᾶσα σοφία, πᾶσα ἐπιείκεια.

[6] Καὶ γὰρ χορεῖαι καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ ῥήματα αἰσχρὰ καὶ μέθαι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ πολὺς ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπεισάγεται φορυτὸς, is the complaint of St Chrysostom on the occasion of weddings, &c., *Hom.* xii. *in* 1 *Cor.*

[7] Presbyteri, diacones, subdiacones, nuptiarum evitent convivia, nec his cœtibus admisceantur, ubi amatoria cantantur et turpia aut obsœni motus corporum choris et saltibus efferuntur, ne auditus et obtutus sacris mysteriis deputati turpium spectaculorum atque verborum contagione polluantur.

[8] Certe non potest—says Tertullian of the Christian wife in so unnatural an union — pro disciplina satisfacere, habens in latere diaboli servum, procuratorum domini sui ad impedienda fidelium studia et officia; ut, si statio facienda est, maritus de die condicat

date, St Ambrose, *Epist.* xix.[1], and of synods, the *Concil. Eliberit.* [A.D. 305], can. 16[2], *Concil. Aurelian.* II. [A.D. 533], c. 19[3], *Concil. Quinisext. Trull.* [A.D. 692], c. 72[4]). The ancient Church, however, and generally the *whole* Church, has never expressly forbidden them[5], and still less has it ever dissolved on this ground such marriages when once contracted[6].

ad balneas, si jejunia observanda sunt, maritus eadem die convivium exerceat; si procedendum erit, nunquam magis familiæ occupatio adveniat. Quis enim sinat conjugem suam visitandorum fratrum gratia vicatim aliena et quidem pauperiora quæque tuguria circuire? Quis nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo eximi libenter ferit? Quis denique solemnibus paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? Quis ad convivium dominicum illud, quod infamant, sine sua suspicione dimittet? Quis in carcerem ad osculanda vincula martyris reptare patietur? ... Si et peregre frater adveniat, quod in aliena domo hospitium? Si cui largiendum erit, horreum, poma præclusa sunt cet.

[1] Cum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali et benedictione sanctificari oporteat, quomodo potest conjugium dici, ubi non est fidei concordia?

[2] De puellis fidelibus ne infidelibus conjungantur. Hæretici si se transferre noluerint ad ecclesiam catholicam, nec ipsis catholicas dandas esse puellas; sed neque Judæis, neque hæreticis [ethnicis?] dare placuit, eo quod nulla possit esse societas fideli cum infideli.

[3] Placuit ut nullus Christianus Judæam neque Judæus Christianam in matrimonio ducat uxorem ...Qui si commoniti a consortio hoc se separare distulerint, a communionis gratia sunt sine dubio submovendi.

[4] Μὴ ἐξέστω ὀρθόδοξον ἄνδρα αἱρετικῇ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικί, μήτε μὴν αἱρετικῷ ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ὀρθόδοξον ζεύγνυσθαι· ... οὐ γὰρ χρὴ τὰ ἄμικτα μιγνύναι, οὐδὲ τῷ προβάτῳ λύκον συμπλέκεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

[5] And yet both St Paul (1 Cor. vii. 13) and St Peter (1 Pet. iii. 1) allude to marriages between Christians and heathens, without any prohibition of such an affinity; and that the Church in still later times tolerated such marriages, is proved by the instances of Monica, the mother of St Augustin, and numerous others (for instance, those of Christian wives of heathen princes, who, together with their whole kingdoms, embraced Christianity through the influences of their queens). On the authority of these passages, Luther in his sermon on the married life (A. D. 1522) s. 199, pronounces against the more modern prohibition of such marriages: 'Darum wisse, dass die Ehe ein äusserlich leiblich Ding ist... Wie ich nun mag [darf] mit einem Heiden, Juden, Türken, Ketzer, essen, trinken, schlafen, gehen,... also mag [darf] ich auch mit ihm ehelich werden und bleiben. Und kehre dich an der Narren Gesetze, die solches verbieten, nichts.' That however such passages ever allow but do not approve them, is obvious; nay, the Lutheran has most decidedly discountenanced a uni veræ religioni addictus conjux willingly and knowingly contracting such a marriage; s. Joh. Gerhard, *Loci Theol.* T. VII. *De Conjugio*, § 388.

[6] This is expressly and directly forbidden also by the rigid canon

The Roman Catholic view of marriage as a sacrament[1] is of a far later date.

2 *Death and Burial*[2].

The undoubting faith which the ancient Church entertained of the resurrection of the body, caused it to shew all due and tender care for the bodies of its departed members (see St Augustin, *de Civitate Dei*, i. 13[3])—in which respect[4] its example was thought worthy of imitation even by a Julian the apostate (*Epist.* XLIX.). Instead of burning the body, according to the practice of the heathen Greeks and Romans of this period[5]—which would be as it were a memorial of hell-fire[6]—or of exposing them, as was the custom of the Persians, the Christians committed them to the grave. (This can be proved to have been the practice even as early as the 2nd and 3rd Centuries[7]). The custom of

of Trulla, already quoted, and in the evangelical or Lutheran Church by *Formula Concordiæ*, art. 12, p. 625.

[1] Sacramenti ministri are, moreover, according to the orthodox theory among the Roman Catholics (Bellarmin), not the priests, but the contracting parties.

[2] Cf. J. Gretser, *De Christianorum Funere*. Ingolst. 1611 (in his *Opp.* T. v. p. 79 sqq.); J. E. Franzen, *Antiquitatum circa Funera cet.* Libb. VI. (cum J. Fabricii *Præf.* et J. A. Schmidii *Epist.*) Lips. 1713; Onuphr. Panvinius, *De Ritu Sepeliendi Mortuos apud Vett. Christianos et de eorum Cœmeteriis.* Lips. 1717 (also as an appendix to *De Vita Pontificum*); J. Nicolai, *De Luctu Christianorum sive de Ritibus ad Sepulturam pertt.* Lugd. B. 1739.

[3] Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum maximeque justorum atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera sanctus usus est Spiritus cet.

[4] Ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια.

[5] This however was not the original custom among the Romans, Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, VII. 54.—The Jews too (and even the disciples of the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 12) used to bury.

[6] Christianus—says Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* c. X.—cui cremare non licuit, cui Christus merita ignis indulsit.

[7] The Churches of Lyons and Vienne, in the letter preserved by Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, complain that they are not allowed even to bury their martyrs (τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει πένθει, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρύψαι τῇ γῇ), while to the mocking reproach of the heathen in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix: Gemina dementia! cœlo et astris, quæ sic relinquimus ut invenimus, interitum denuntiare, sibi mortuis et exstinctis, qui sicut nascimur et interimus, æternitatem repromittere; inde videlicet exsecrantur rogos et damnant ignium sepulturas, quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis subtrahatur, annis tamen et ætatibus in terram resolvatur, the Christian modestly replies: Corpus omne, sive arescit in pul-

embalming, on the other hand[1], was principally (in compliance with old national habits) adopted in Egypt alone; and even there it was chiefly in the case of the wealthy that it was employed (see St Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. xc.[2], and St Augustin, *Sermo* CCCLXI. § 12[3]). The funerals of the Christians were performed with prayer and hymns of praise and thanksgiving[4] (*Constitutt. Apostol.* vi. 30[5], and viii. 41[6], compared with Chrysostom, *Homil.* iv. *in Ep. ad Hebr.*[7], and

verem, sive in humorem solvitur, ...subducitur nobis, sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur; nec ut creditis ullum damnum sepulturæ timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.

[1] Cf. C. G. F. Walch, *De Mumiis Christianis*, in the *Commentationes Gotting.* Vol. III. Gott. 1780, p. 46 sqq.

[2] Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ τῶν τελευτώντων σπουδαίων σώματα, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων, φιλοῦσι μὲν θάπτειν καὶ περιελίσσειν ὀθονίοις, μὴ κρύπτειν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκιμποδίων τιθέναι καὶ φυλάττειν ἔνδον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς,—a practice which however Anthony himself disapproved of (λέγων μήτε νόμιμον, μήτε ὅλως ὅσιον εἶναι τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν σώματα...καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα εἰς μνημεῖον ἐτέθη).

[3] Ægyptii...morem habent siccare corpora et quasi ænea reddere; gabbaras ea vocant.

[4] See also the account of the funeral-service in Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *de Eccles. Hierarch.* c. vii.

[5] Ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν κεκοιμημένων ψάλλοντες προτέμπετε αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν ὦσι πιστοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ· τίμιος γὰρ ἐναντίον τοῦ Κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ.

[6] The prayers of the burial-service are here given. The bishop prays: Ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ, οὐχ ὡς νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ζώντων Θεὸς εἶ· ὅτι πάντων αἱ ψυχαὶ παρὰ σοὶ ζῶσι καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν τῇ χειρί σου εἰσὶν, ὧν οὐ μὴ ἅψηται βάσανος· πάντες γὰρ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χειράς σου εἰσίν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω καὶ προσελάβου εἰς ἑτέραν λῆξιν, καὶ συγχώρησον αὐτῷ εἴ τι ἑκὼν ἢ ἄκων ἐξήμαρτε, καὶ ἀγγέλους εὐμενεῖς παράστησον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατάταξον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων, ὅπου οὐκ ἐνι λύπη, ὀδύνη καὶ στεναγμὸς, ἀλλὰ χῶρος εὐσεβῶν ἀνημένος καὶ γῆ εὐθέων συνανημένη καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρωώντων τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, κ. τ. λ.—In the concluding benediction the bishop prays: Σῶσον, Κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ποίμανον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν δεξιάν σου καὶ σκέπασον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγάς σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίσασθαι καλὸν, τὸν δρόμον τελέσαι, τὴν πίστιν τηρῆσαι ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[7] Εἰπέ μοι, τί βούλονται...οἱ ὕμνοι; Οὐχὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζομεν καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἀπελθόντα, ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ὅτι τῆς

Hieronymus, *Epist.* cviii. [al. lxxxvi.] § 29[1]). Occasionally the funeral was celebrated with great solemnity (as, for instance, that of Basil the Great, according to Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xx., and that of Paula, according to St Jerome, *ibid.*), with a long array of torches and tapers, &c. (see the above fathers). All ceremonies however were omitted in the case of suicides, and of criminals executed for their crimes, and also in that of catechumens (cf. *Concil. Bracarense* I. c. 16, 17[2]). By the 4th Century, a special office connected with the burial of the dead seems to have grown up in the Church —that of the κοπιάται, *fossarii*, Sextons (*Codex Theodos.* xiii. 1, 1, and xvi. 2, 15[3], compared with *Cod. Justin.* i. 11, 4).

The sorrow of the ancient Christians for their departed relations who had fallen asleep in Christ, was such as evinced a joyous hope, by which it was refined and elevated (see St Cyprian, *de Mortalitate*, pp. 234, 236[4], Basilius M. *Homil. de Eucharist. Opp.* T. II. p. 31[5], St Chrysostom, *Hom. de Dormientibus*[6]). The heathen and Jewish

ὀειλίας ἐκβαλὼν ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῷ· οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ὕμνοι, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ψαλμῳδίαι;

[1] In his description of the burial of Paula he tells us: Græco, latino syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant cet.

[2] Ut hi, qui sibi ipsis...quolibet modo violentia inferunt mortem, nulla pro illis in oblatione commemoratio fiat, neque cum psalmis ad sepulturam eorum cadavera deducantur.—Similiter et de his placuit, qui pro suis sceleribus puniuntur. Item placuit, ut catechumenis sine redemptione baptismi defunctis simili modo neque oblationis commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

[3] Here the Κοπιάται are spoken of expressly as *clerici*.

[4] Fratres nostri non sunt lugendi, accersitione dominica de sæculo liberati, cum sciamus non eos amitti sed præmitti,...nec accipiendas esse hic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumpserint, occasionem dandam non esse gentilibus, ut nos merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus ut exstinctos et perditos lugeamus... Quid non properamus et currimus, ut patriam nostram videre, ut parentes salutare possimus? Magnus illic nos carorum numerus expectat, parentum, fratrum, filiorum frequens nos et copiosa turba desiderat, jam de sua incolumitate secura et adhuc de nostra salute sollicita. Ad horum conspectum et complexum venire, quanta et illis et nobis in commune lætitia est!

[5] He is here speaking against those who thought that τῷ πεν-θοῦντι πρέπον εἶναι σχῆμα, μέλαν ἱμάτιον, κ.τ.λ. Κατάλιπε, continues he, ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα. Σὺ δὲ ἐδιδάχθης περὶ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κοιμηθέντων ...Τί οὖν κλαίεις τὸν ἐξελθόντα μεταμφιάσασθαι;

[6] Πῶς οἶόν τε, φησί, μὴ ἀλγεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα; οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τοῦτο λέγω· οὐδὲ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπίτασιν τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀναιρῶ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀθυμεῖν, τῆς

custom of hiring mourners (*praficæ*, γυναῖκες θρηνῳδοί), if still retained by Christians, was naturally regarded as an irregularity (St Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxxi. [al. xxxii.] *in Matth.*). On the anniversary of the death (Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* c. iii., *de Exhort. Cast.* c. xi., and *de Monogam.* c. x.[1]), and also soon after the death itself (Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei*, c. xxiii.[2], compared with the Epistle numbered 158 among the collection of St Augustin's letters[3]), the friends of the departed celebrated his memory by partaking together of the Lord's Supper, to testify their belief that the communion of the saints in Christ extended beyond the grave. At the same time it was usual to lay on the altar an offering in the name of the deceased, and mention was also made of him in the Church's prayer before the Communion (Cyprian, *Epist.* lxvi.[4], compared with Chrysostom, *Hom. in Acta App.*[5]); a practice[6] to which—with the growth and prevalence of the idea of the sacrifice of the mass—many superstitious elements (as was only too likely) attached themselves, and that too at an early date. Moreover, the survivors strove by works of love and charity to do honour to, and to celebrate the memory of, their friends *gone home to their rest* (St Chrysost. l. l., and also *Hom.* xxvii. *in* 1 *Cor.* vii.[7]). The funeral-feast (*Agape*) at the grave soon

φύσεως· τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου τοῦτο ποιεῖν, μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης καὶ γυναικώδους ψυχῆς. Ἄλγησον, δάκρυσον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδυσπετήσῃς, μὴ δυσχεραίνῃς, μὴ ἀγανακτήσῃς. εὐχαρίστησον τῷ λαμβάνοντι, ἵνα κοσμήσῃς τὸν ἀπελθόντα....δάκρυσον, ὡς ὁ δεσπότης σου ἐδάκρυσε τὸν Λάζαρον...λυποῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἕλλην, κ. τ. λ.

[1] Oblationes pro defunctis annua die facimus.—Oblationes annuas reddis.—Offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.

[2] Ἐπὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων... τὰς μνήμας ποιοῦνται, προσευχὰς τελοῦντες καὶ λατρείας καὶ οἰκονομίας.

[3] Evodius here writes to St Augustin: Exequias præbuimus satis honorabiles et dignas tantæ animæ; nam per triduum hymnis Dominum collaudavimus super sepulcrum ipsius et redemptionis sacramenta tertio die obtulimus.

[4] Si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur; neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui cet.

[5] Οὐκ εἰκῇ προσφοραὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπελθόντων γίνονται, οὐκ εἰκῇ ἱκετηρίαι, οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐλεημοσύναι;

[6] Cf. J. Hildebrand, *Primitivæ Ecclesiæ Offertorium pro Defunctis h. e. de Veterum Oblationibus, Precibus, Missis, Eleemosynis pro Defunctis.* Helmst. 1741.

[7] Ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιεῖς καὶ πένητας παροράᾳς, καὶ οὐ φρίττεις; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν νίνυῦ ἢ ἀδελ-

led to abuses and excesses of different kinds (Augustin, *de Moribus Ecclesiæ Cathol.* c. xxxiv.[1]), and on that account was discouraged, and finally prohibited by the Church[2].

Lastly, the burial-places[3] (*areæ*, *κοιμητήρια*, *dormitoria*[4]), like those of the Jews and heathens (conf. Cicero, *de Legibus*, xi. 23[5], and Luke vii. 12), were situated outside of the cities and towns (St Jerome, *Catal. Viror. Illust.* c. i. n. 5[6], St Chrysostom *in Ps.* v.[7], *Codex Theodos.* ix. 17, 6[8]). In several rich and more important localities, as for instance at Rome[9] (cf. St Jerome *in Ezech.* xl.[10], and Prudentius, *Hymn.* xi.[11]), and afterwards also at Naples, Syracuse, &c., subterranean catacombs were dug out of the solid rock (chalk or tuffa), with niches or receptacles on both sides, to receive the sarcophagi, urns, and sepulchral lamps[12], and ornamented with inscriptions, symbols[13], paint-

φοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀνάμνησιν ἐποίεις, ἐπλήγης ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἔθος ἐπλήρωσας καὶ πένητας ἐκάλεσας.

[1] Novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos [in cœmiteriis—August. *Epist.* xxii. *ad Aurel.*] bibant et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.

[2] See above, § 32, 1, p. 304.

[3] Cf. H. Spondanus, *De Cœmeteriis Sacris.* Par. 1638; L. A. Muratori, *De Cœmeteriis Diss.* (in his *Anecdota Bibl. Ambros.* T. i.); O. Panvinius, in the work quoted above, p. 275, n. 2.

[4] And still more profoundly and beautifully in the German *Gottesäcker.*

[5] Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.—Hadrian imposed a heavy fine in eos, qui in civitate sepeliunt (*Digest.* xlvii. 12, 3, 5).

[6] The account of St Peter's tomb, juxta viam triumphalem, and of St Paul's, in via Ostiensi.

[7] Τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καθάπτομεν.

[8] Omnia, quæ supra terram urnis clausa vel sarcophagis corpora detinentur, extra urbem delata ponantur.

[9] Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea.* Par. 1659, and Boldetti, *Oss. Sopra i Cimeteri ... di Roma.* Rom. 1720 (ob. s. 6).

[10] Dum essem Romæ puer et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum ceteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi diebus dominicis sepulchra apostolorum et martyrum circuire crebroque cryptas ingredi, quæ in terrarum profunda defossæ ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora sepultorum cet.

[11] Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe
Vidimus, o Christi Valeriane sacer.
Incisos tumulis titulos et singula quæris
Nomina? Difficile est, ut replicare queam cet.
Sunt et muta tamen tacitas claudentia tumbas.
Marmora, quæ solum significant numerum.

[12] Bellori, *Lucernæ Sepulcrales e Cavernis Romæ Subt.* Col. 1702 (ob. s. 6).

[13] The symbols noticed already,

ings (of scriptural subjects), and sculptures[1] (*cryptæ* or *catacombæ*[2]). The custom of burying in churches[3], and within the towns, first arose from the building of chapels in honour of the martyrs, and from a desire to lie by the side of such confessors of the faith (see Gregor. Nyss. *Vita Macrinæ*[4], and Augustin, *de Cura pro Mortuis*, c. iv.[5]). The honour of being buried in sacred edifices, and that too in the principal churches of great cities, was first of all granted to princes and the clergy (cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxvi. *in* 2 *Cor.*[6], Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 45[7], and Evagrius, *H. E.* iv. 31[8]), and then became more common. At a later date the *Concil. Bracar.* i. c. 18[9], decreed that burying within the sacred walls should in no case be permitted, and that it should be only allowed in the outer court: and, as the highest privilege, only in the immediate precincts of the Church.

§ 24, and many others of the early Christians; such as the Dove, a Lamb, a Shepherd, an Anchor, a Fish, a Ship, a Palm-branch, a Cock, a Lamp, Scales, a Lyre, the Monogram, and so forth.

[1] Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture sagre D. Cimiteri di Roma.* Rom. 1737 (ob. s. 6).

[2] Cf. P. Zorn, *De Catacombis*, 1720.

[3] Cf. N. H. Gundling, *De Origine Sepulcrorum in Templ.* in his *Observatt. Sel.* T. i. obs. 8.

[4] Of this person, who was his sister, he tells (*Opp.* T. ii. p. 201) that she was buried in the ἅγιος μαρτύρων οἶκος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ τῶν γονέων ἀπέκειτο σώματα.

[5] Profecto etiam provisus sepeliendis corporibus apud memorias sanctorum locus bonæ affectionis humanæ est erga funera suorum, quoniam, si nonnulla religio est ut sepeliantur, non potest nulla esse, quando ubi sepeliantur attendamus.

[6] The description of the burial-place of Constantine the Great.

[7] Τὸ σῶμα Ἰωάννου (says St Chrysostom)...εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέθετο.

[8] He speaks of a place in the Church of St Sophia, ἐν ᾧ οἵ τε βασιλεῖς, οἵ τε ἱερώμενοι τῆς νενομισμένης ταφῆς τυγχάνουσιν.

[9] Placuit, ut corpora defunctorum nullo modo intra basilicam sanctorum sepeliantur, sed si necesse est de foris circa murum basilicæ usque adeo non abhorret. Nam si firmissimum hoc privilegium usque nunc retinent civitates, ut nullo modo intra ambitus murorum cujuslibet defuncti corpus humetur, quanto magis hoc venerabilium martyrum debet reverentia obtinere!

APPENDIX.

A. (Sect. vi.) p. 17.

THIS distinction Guericke supposes to have been subsequently mixed up with other heterogeneous elements. His words are—'Fundamentally no less original, although at first not distinctly and fully worked out, and in the beginning free as yet from all heterogeneous elements, was also another simple division,' &c.

A. (Sect. vii.) p. 18.

The opening of this section has been altered, as Guericke seems to deny the reality of the priestly character of the Christian priesthood as compared with the Jewish. But whatever constituted the essence of the Levitical, it still survives in the Christian priesthood. The end of both being the application of the one great Sacrifice, different means according to their different relations to it are employed;—sacrifices by the one, and sacraments by the other. It cannot be held, that the Levitical priesthood could, simply by their sacrifices, reconcile the sinner to God; they had but a ministry of reconciliation committed to them; but that also, according to St Paul, 2 Cor. v. 18, is committed to the Christian priest. The original passage stands thus: 'It was only before the appearance of Christ that the priestly office—the office of reconciling God to man—could ever have existed (though, indeed, only typically) in its perfect reality, and could at the same time be tied up to a class. By Christ the atonement was completed once for all, and for all men;—that which the priesthood before Christ had only typified and prefigured, was now accomplished for all; and the duty of constantly realizing it by the oblation of his own heart, became the priestly duty of each individual Christian. Consequently by Christ the significance of the priesthood in general was changed, so that instead of being real, it became symbolical, and also its exclusive connexion with a class or caste was abrogated.'

A. (Sect. vii.) p. 19.

'The natural distinction of a class of teachers and governors, and of the taught and governed, gradually assumed

more and more of a hierarchical aspect. The official symbolical priests of Christendom soon assumed a Levitical exclusive character, distinct and separate from the mass of non-priests. It was reserved for the times of the Reformation to restore this distinction to its true evangelical significance; a restoration, however, which has not been unattended with an anti-hierarchical extreme in the reformed (Calvinistic) Church.'

A. (Sect. vii.) p. 21.

'As bearing both on this and the following section, the reader may consult J. H. Böhmer, *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali*, Diss. x., and *de Differentiâ inter ordinem Ecclesiasticum et Plebem, seu inter Clericos et Laicos* (Diss. vii.), also F. Leopold, *Das Predigtamt in Urchristenthume. Die Entwickelung des Predigtamtes zur Zeit d. Apostel u. Apostolischer Schüler, mit Rucksicht auf dessen Veränderungen und weitere Umbildung.* Lüneburg, 1846.'

A. (Sect. viii.) p. 22.

'The universal priesthood which, according to the Apostle's words, belongs to all Christians, entailed as a necessary consequence that in the Apostolical age—those times of high and sanctified spiritual freedom—the spiritual office was not, as in later times (at least not in the same degree), confined to a particular class. Every Christian, according to his inward call—according to his possessing the gift of divine grace (1 Cor. xii. 27, compared with xiv. 26), might (with the single and natural exception of the female sex, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, and 1 Tim. ii. 12), to the best of his abilities assist in the edification of the whole body, both by word and deed.'

To this passage the following note is appended:—

'This follows among other things from the passage of the Ambrosiaster (*i. e.* of Hilary, according to Augustin, *Epp.* iv. 4 *ad Bonifacium*) on Eph. iv. 11, although properly it does not testify so much to the absence as yet of a well-defined distinction between clergy and laity, as rather to the non-existence in the Apostolical age of certain gradations in the ministerial office, and of certain regulations as to ceremonies and seasons. It runs thus:—"Postquam omnibus locis ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ et officia ordinata,

aliter composita res est, quam cœperat. Primum enim omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio; nec enim Philippus tempus quæsivit aut diem, quo eunuchum baptizaret, neque jejunium interposuit....neque Petrus diaconos habuit, aut diem quæsivit quando Cornelium cum omni domo sua baptizavit Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare et baptizare et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca complexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt et rectores, et cetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clericis auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Et cœpit alio ordine et providentia gubernari ecclesia, quia, si omnes eadem possent, irrationabile esset et vulgaris res et vilissima videretur. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant, neque quocunque die credentes tinguntur, nisi ægri."'

Now of this passage it is sufficient to observe, that even Guericke admits that it does not obviously confirm the view in support of which he adduces it.

B. (Sect. viii.) p. 23.

Guericke maintains the originality and equality of the priesthood and episcopate. Immediately after the words 'Timothy and Titus,' he goes on to say, 'But in the Apostles' stead (subsequently as their successors[1]) there were in each separate community, both by the appointment of the

[1] Only, however, in the qualified sense that this succession in the apostolical office was a limited, improper one. The Apostles alone, as instruments for the founding of the Church (Eph. ii. 20; Matt. xvi. 18); as witnesses of the Resurrection (Acts i. 21, 22), of the facts which formed the basis of the whole apostolical preaching (Acts ii. 22—33; iii. 15; x. 39—41; xiii. 30—39; xvii. 31, &c.), and of the whole Christian faith (1 Cor. xv. 17, &c.), as those who received their appointment, as preachers of the salvation of God, not from men (Gal. i. 1), but from the Lord himself, were the *immediate*, supernaturally (extraordinarily) endowed ministers of Christ in the *beginning* of the Church, and the nature of their office precludes [in this respect] the continuance of their office in the Church. The so-called successors of the Apostles had for their vocation, not the foundation, but the maintenance of the Church.

Apostles and after Jewish precedent[1], elders, Πρεσβύτεροι, or Ἐπίσκοποι[2].'

C. (Sect. viii.) p. 23.

Guericke here overlooks the fact that St Paul, addressing Timothy on the mode of discharging the Apostolical office, necessarily gives him directions as to the appointment of none but the lower ministers in the Church: those who were under the Apostles of those days, and under what in these days are called bishops (see the passages quoted from Theodoret and the Ambrosiaster, pp. 30, 31). In the New Testament we have three orders of ministers—Apostles, Priests or Bishops, and Deacons. And the Church still has the same three orders, with a slight variation of names,—bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Guericke, arguing from the scriptural use of the names, and neglecting the testimony of Theodoret and Hilary (the Ambrosiaster) denies the scriptural and apostolical origin of the bishop's office. He argues that as there is no mention of bishops in Acts xv. 6, 22, nor directions as to their qualifications in 1 Tim. v., 1 Pet. v., therefore the office did not exist. But St Paul and St Peter, in giving those pastoral instructions, were exercising the bishop's office. He argues the equality of the presbyterate with the apostleship in its ordinary functions, from the title of compresbyter and presbyter, assumed by the Apostles St Paul and St John (1 Pet. v. 1, and 2nd and 3rd John, ver. 1). But by the same mode of reasoning the identity of the deaconate with the apostleship might be inferred from Eph. iii. 7, Col. i. 23, 25, and Col. i. 7, compared with Phil. ii. 25 in the original.

In support of his view, Guericke further cites the following passage from St Jerome's *Comm. in Tit.* i. 7:—"'Idem est ergo presbyter, qui episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent,...communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat, suos putabat esse, non Christi: in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris

[1] The זְקֵנִים, &c. Cf. Camp. Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere*, Lib. vii. Franck. 1696, Lib. iii. p. 1 (qua comparantur rectores synagogarum cum præpositio ecclesia Christianæ), c. 1—3.

[2] The one title, πρεσβύτεροι, designates the dignity; the other, ἐπίσκοποι, the office.

electus superponeretur ceteris.....Ita episcopi noverint, se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere." So also he observes, *Epist.* CXLVI. (al. CI.) *ad Evangelum*: "Apostolus perspicue docet, eosdem esse presbyteros, quos episcopos. Quod autem postea," he further says, "unus electus est, qui ceteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est." Similarly also *Epist.* LXXXII. *ad Oceanum, Ep.* LXXXIV. *ad Evagr.*, and elsewhere.'

But, to quote from the useful work, Perceval's *Apology for the Apostolical Succession*,—'Even St Jerome not only *denies to presbyters the power of ordination*; not only affirms that *the authority of bishops over presbyters was established* when men began to say, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos" (see the passage quoted by Guericke, 'postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse non Christi') *i. e.* in the life-time of the Apostles (1 Cor. i.); but he again and again declares that what Aaron and his sons were among the Jews, that the bishop and his presbyters were among the Christians,' p. 51 (ed. 1839).

As to the passage quoted by Guericke from St Chrysostom (*Homil.* i. *in Phil.* i. 1), it only goes to prove the identity of the names in the Apostles' times; but not the identity of office. It runs thus: Τί τοῦτο; μιᾶς πόλεως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε· τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνομάσιν. He also refers (without quoting the passage, however) to Theodoret on Phil. i. 1, and to 1 Tim. iii., and then to certain passages from the fathers of the 4th and 5th Centuries, which are given, he says, by Rothe, *Die Anfänge d. Christlichen Kirche*, Bd. I. p. 208.

A. (SECT. VIII.) p. 27.

Guericke says that this office was discharged by these πρεσβύτεροι, or ἐπίσκοποι, co-ordinately with, and with equal official authority to that of, the Apostles, and their representatives, Timothy and Titus.

B. (SECT. VIII.) p. 27.

Here the presbyterate is asserted by Guericke to be the ministry appointed by Christ exclusively for the preaching of the Word in such sense that it was only as *presbyters* that the Apostles themselves preached the Gospel.

A. (Sect. viii.) p. 29.

'Or,' Guericke goes on to say, 'a simple presbyter' (1 Tim. iv. 14), a teacher (Acts xiii. 3).

A. (Sect. viii.) p. 30.

Here Guericke supposes a change in the constitution in the Church by which the bishops usurped a supremacy over the rest of the presbytery—a supposition which Chillingworth so powerfully ridicules. He opens this section thus:—

'An essential change in the constitution of the Church was effected by the development of the Episcopate—properly so called—by the assumption of superiority on the part of a few over the rest of the presbyters.'

'In the Apostles' times there were no doubt bishops or presbyters, but so long as the Apostles lived, these were not bishops in the later sense of the term; the functions which the later bishops have arrogated to themselves were discharged by the Apostles themselves, or by those to whom they delegated their powers; and among the Apostles, perhaps St James[1] at Jerusalem, and none other, may, owing to the peculiar circumstances of that community, in some degree be paralleled to the later Episcopate. Consequently the proper Episcopate, i. e. the supremacy of the bishop over the presbyters, unquestionably had its rise only in times posterior to, though immediately following, the Apostolical age.'

'The question now arises, How was this accomplished? Most undoubtedly not *against* the will of the Apostles. That cannot be supposed for one moment. Such a supposition is forbidden both by the high respect in which Apo-

[1] He is not only mentioned in the New Testament (Acts xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. i. 19; ii. 9, 12) generally as a pillar of the Church in Jerusalem; but the Church historians (Hegesippus in Eus. *H. E.* ii. 23; Clemen. Alex. in Eus. *H. E.* ii. 1; St Jerome *u. s.* compared with Josephus, *Archæolog.* xx. 9, 1) speak of him expressly as its leader and bishop. We are here proceeding on the well-grounded identity of the James who is mentioned in the New Testament and the Church historians, as presiding over the Church in Jerusalem, with the Apostle James the less (see my *Introduction to the New Testament*, § 56, p. 483 ff.) But even if this identity were not proved this would make no difference for our argument. The fact of a bishopric in Jerusalem held by an apostolical man in the apostolical times would be incontrovertible.

stolical tradition was regarded at this date, and also by the *fact*, that even in the Apostles' times we meet at Jerusalem with something very analogous to the later Episcopate[1]. Now in communities having only one presbyter, the formation of the proper Episcopate upon the withdrawal of Apostolical superintendence, was not merely natural, but, so to speak, followed at once. In larger communities too, in this case, the want of a representative of the Apostolical supervision, and of a successor in his office, must have been felt no less sensibly. Now this want must have appeared the more easily satisfied, since the mother-church of Jerusalem, even in the times of the Apostles, had (though there indeed in the person of an Apostle) discovered a way of meeting it. Thus then in the times immediately after the Apostles, the Episcopate was formed as an institution of the whole Church, to which its existing circumstances naturally and necessarily led. Henceforward *one* of the presbyters received as the representative and successor of the Apostles a higher rank and authority, and was—although occasionally, as in Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* III. 23; IV. 26, 43, 44; V. 20), Euseb. (*H. E.* V. 21[2]), and also in Polycarp[3] (*Epist.* c. v.), the terms presbyter and bishop are used as equivalent—distinguished as bishop from the other presbyters, at first perhaps as *primus inter pares*, but with growing power with the course of time and the sufferings and necessities of the Church. But even in the 3rd Century, which was so especially favourable to the growth of episcopal power, the College of Presbyters, *Collegium Compresbyterorum* (Cyprian, *Epp.* V. and XII. *ad Cler. de Lapsis*), were associated with the bishop as his advisers[4], and even the Ambrosiaster, who sees in the Episcopate a

[1] Under St James, and even after St James, if credit is due to what is related in Euseb. *H. E.* VIII. 11, compared with III. 22 and IV. 5, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the surviving apostles and other disciples of the Lord held a synod, and elected Symon bishop of that Church.

[2] In this passage Irenæus calls even the predecessors of the Roman bishop, Victor, simply Presbyter: πρεσβυτέρους (καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ πρόσθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ).

[3] Polycarp here exhorts them to be obedient τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ.

[4] And indeed even the Carthaginian synod, 308 A.D. (Mansi, p. 953), could order, Episcopus nullus causam audiat absque præsentia clericorum duorum. Alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi nisi clericorum sententia confirmetur.

remedium in schismatis, terms the bishops merely *inter presbyteros primum, primum presbyterorum* (on 1 Tim. iii. and Eph. iv. 11). However, the distinction which henceforward prevailed between the presbyterate and the episcopate, is already to be found in the germ in the Ignatian Epistles.'

'But the view above given of the formation of the Episcopate, has lately been zealously and warmly contested by B. Rothe, *Die Anfange der Christl. Kirche*, p. 351 ff. Rothe positively maintains that the existing Episcopate was instituted by the testamentary ordinance of the Apostles themselves. But this hypothesis of Rothe's is by no means demonstrated. It is inconsistent with the passages already quoted, and similar ones from writers of the 2nd and 3rd Centuries, which allude to a merely gradual rise of the bishop's supremacy. If it were true, how are we to account for the only gradual emancipation of the bishops from the controul of their compresbyters, and the struggle so apparent in the first centuries in the orthodox Church for and against the Episcopate? [But see Chillingworth]. And how can the Apostles be acquitted of proceeding without having before them any clear and definite plan, since in the beginning they regulated the relations of presbyter and bishop very differently from what this pretended testamentary regulation makes them to have done at the close of their lives?'

Guericke then gives a long analysis of Rothe's argument, and a refutation of it. It is omitted as possessing no interest for English readers, to whom Rothe's work (though very valuable) is comparatively unknown. In this analysis he also rejects the following interpretation by Rothe of the classical passage from Clemens Romanus: οἵ who καὶ μεταξὺ, also in the meanwhile (that is, between their original institution of presbyters and deacons and their death), ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν, gave out an ordinance, that after their deaths (i. e. the Apostles'), other approved men should succeed to their ministry (i. e. to the Apostles' ministry).

THE END.

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